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PRICKING AN HISTORICAL BUBBLE

THERE is no work more needed than a series of biographies of men conspicuous in the political history of the United States. The average American citizen is most deficient in information concerning American statesmen, the founders of the Government, and the prominent actors in history, from the period of the War of the Revolution to the War of Secession. The American knows more about the leading statesmen of every country in the world than of his own. This is owing in great measure to our school teachers, historical writers, publishers, and the parents of American children, who prefer to have them read of the Rise and Fall of Rome rather than the Rise and Progress of the United States. It is time that a movement was made to educate our children in the science of American government and American politics. It is time that we made a department in our colleges and universities to qualify young men to be educators of the people, not alone in theology, law, medicine, engineering, and in agriculture, but in politics. Ours is a government by the people, and it is quite as important to have men educated to look after the political body as after the physical man. Most of the young gentlemen who come home with degrees from college can tell all about the Draconian Code, but can give but little information concerning the Alien and Sedition laws. They have the story at their fingers' end of Cæsar crossing the Rubicon, but are rather loose in their recollection of Aaron Burr's sail down the Ohio. They know all about the burning of Rome by the Gauls and Nero, but know little of the burning of Washington by the British and the disgraceful flight of Madison and the members of his cabinet from the capital. They will narrate what they know about the first Roman embassy to Greece, but fail to enlighten you of the first embassy of the United States to Russia. They will be found quite familiar with the story of Cæsar's death in the Senate house and the rent made by the envious Casca, but will find it difficult to tell what prompted Bully Brooks to strike down Senator Sum-

ner in the Senate chamber. There is hardly anything in ancient African, Asian, and European history, that they will not be ready to expatiate upon, even to the amount paid by the Holy Church for ceding Ravenna and other places to King Astolphus of Lombardy, but are sure to be at fault in regard to the facts about the ceding of Louisiana by France and the disposal of Florida by Spain to the United States. They are up in history in regard to Pompey's desertion of Cicero, but are ignorant about John Quincy Adams' apostasy to his friends in Massachusetts and the Federalists who sent him to the United States Senate. For these and other reasons it is desirable that cheap editions of the lives and times of the prominent actors in the political life of our country should be issued. "Books embodying in compact form the result of extensive study of the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country" are greatly needed, and will be productive of much good.

Referring to the marked indifference of the general American readers and patrons of public and private literature, Parton, in his "Life of Aaron Burr," makes an unpleasant revelation of the neglect of our people to read the lives of our great statesmen and the history of American politics. He says: "Among the volumes which 'no gentleman's library is complete without,' and which, in most gentlemen's libraries, slumber on the shelves with uncut leaves, are the forty ponderous octavos containing the works of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton. That these volumes should be so utterly neglected as they are, is not creditable to the national intelligence." He adds, "In the Mercantile Library of the city of New York, which counts its subscribers by thousands, the condition in which these books were found by me two or three years ago was as follows: First volume of each set showed marks of having been taken out and looked through two or three times. The second volume had evidently been handled by some *one* adventurous person, and about half of its leaves were cut. Beyond the second volume no traces of the hand of man were discovered; a boundless contiguity of virgin pages gave the reader a pleasing consciousness that he was the explorer of untrodden regions." "Yet," continues Mr. Parton, "it is by the perusal of these works, aided by the memoirs of the time, that alone a knowledge of the country's history during the period in which alone it had a history can be obtained."

In view of the indifference of the general reader to prying open these sealed works, we read with pleasure the announcement that a prominent firm will publish a compact and cheap edition of "American Statesmen" who have been most conspicuous in our political history. Our young men must educate themselves to read these works as they educate themselves to

smoke cigarettes and to eat tomatoes. The first of the series, "The Political Life of John Quincy Adams," by John T. Morse, Jr., has been before the public for some weeks. It is a brief and partial sketch of that versatile, Quixotic, and distinguished son of Massachusetts. Mr. Morse brings into bold relief the strong features of Mr. Adams' character, but omits, glosses over, or apologizes for his many eccentric, weak, and irregular characteristics. Mr. Adams was more ambitious than virtuous. He preferred office to consistency and devotion to principles and party. This infirmity but few public men of our country have been exempt from. John Quincy Adams had the affliction in its worst form. He was what John Randolph called "a ratter." His trapeze performance, in vaulting from the Federal spring-board into the Democratic ring, is characterized by Mr. Morse as "evidence of great courage and strength of mind." His admirer and biographer adds, "Instead of being tergiversation it was a triumph in a severe trial." With an ordinary political performer this gymnastic feat would be pictured as a clumsy summersault or as exhibiting his agility. To our mind his desertion to the Democratic party in the United States Senate, in 1805, was as shameful as anything in the history of political treason. Mr. Morse says he voted against the wishes of the party that sent him to the Senate and expected to hold him in the bonds of partisanship, and "no bribe was needed to secure his vote." If Mr. Morse had not told us in the next breath that Dr. Rush was the go-between for Jefferson and John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and that "as early as November, 1805, John Quincy Adams was approached by Dr. Rush with tentative suggestions concerning a foreign mission," and that Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, and even President Jefferson, were apparently not disinclined to give him such employment, provided he would be willing to accept it at their hands, the reader might be led to believe that Mr. Adams acted from patriotic motives. But did Mr. Adams indignantly repel the offer and resent the insult to bribe him? No; he replied with the meekness and humbleness of the mercenary member of the Legislature, "He would not refuse a nomination merely because it came from Mr. Jefferson." He had no scruples about accepting office from the man and the party who had been the malignant enemies and defamers of his father—from the man who, only two or three years before, had turned him out of office to the great mortification of his mother. We venture to say there could not be found a jury of intelligent men, Republicans or Federalists, that would not at the time have convicted John Quincy Adams of deliberate and mercenary treachery to the Federal party.

The fact is that, great as John Quincy Adams was, he was a trimmer and a time-server. He passed from one extreme of political opinion to an-

other as Satan described by Milton, went bobbing around the globe. It can be said of him, however, that he boxed the political compass with more agility and success than Butler. It is to Butler's credit that he behaved with more fairness to the party that sent him to represent it in Congress than Mr. Adams did. He did not go over to the enemy's camp and enlist to fight in their ranks (in the Republican uniform) against his old friends and party, until he returned them his commission and turned in his old soldier's clothes. Not so with Adams. He no sooner saw the Democratic wave rising under Jefferson's administration than he began to exhibit the signs which with politicians precede treason. He differed with his party friends on certain questions, and began showing what Mr. Morse describes as "independence," and "great courage of mind." He joined the Democratic ranks and voted against his party. This, according to Morse, was a "triumph in a severe ordeal." Further on, Mr. Morse tells us that, for his "imperfect allegiance to the party ['imperfect allegiance' is a new definition for treason], he gave more offence than satisfaction, and he found himself soundly berated in leading Federalist newspapers in New England, and angrily threatened with expulsion from the party." In a word, the intelligent, religious, and respectable portion of the community which constituted the Federal party repudiated Mr. Adams and called upon him to resign. The rage of the Republicans of the country against Roscoe Conkling for resigning his seat in the Senate was nothing compared with the violence exhibited by the Federalists of New England toward Adams. They threatened that he should "have his head taken off for apostasy," and gave him to understand that he "should no longer be considered as having any communion with the party." "Henceforth the Federal party was to be like a hive of enraged hornets about the renegade. No abuse which they could heap upon him seemed adequate to the occasion. They despised, they loathed him; they said and believed that he was false, selfish, designing, a traitor, an apostate, that he had run away from a failing cause, that he had sold himself. The language of contumely was exhausted in vain efforts to describe his baseness." And the acts which the most intelligent and respectable characterized as base and treacherous, his biographer and eulogist calls "courage," "strength of mind," and "patriotism." Was there ever such an abuse of compliments? Mr. Morse, like most of our biographers and historians, is an artistic whitewasher.

Some writer has said that the Adams family are of the sort of men who make up a party of themselves. If any other organization attempts to join them, they immediately secede, under the impression that something must be wrong if they are not in the minority. Notwithstanding their great love of

office, it will be found that no member of that illustrious family has hardly ever remained in a party long enough to see it die, and if they should join it after death they could not keep up with the procession. After the defeat of old John Adams no member of the family ever could keep up with any political procession.

Jefferson, on one occasion, alluding to the eccentricity of John Randolph, remarked that the politics of a man come from his temperament. Observation has led us to believe that many men's politics are made by the party majorities in localities as well by their temperament. We find to-day in Congress old Whigs and Republicans representing Democratic districts, and old Democrats representing Republican districts. Most people would say that principles and patriotism were at the bottom of these transformations. The Adams family,—from the time President Adams took French leave of Washington or, to use the more elegant language of Mr. Morse, from the time "the irascible old gentleman, having experienced a very Waterloo defeat in the contest for the Presidency, had ridden away from the capital, actually in a wild rage, on the night of March 3, 1801, to avoid the humiliating pageant of Mr. Jefferson," which pageant, Mr. Morse forgot to mention, consisted of Mr. Jefferson riding down Pennsylvania Avenue on horseback, unattended, to the capitol, where he dismounted and tied his horse to a stake, and entered the Senate chamber to be "inaugurated,"—have shown a bilious temperament and a most unhappy disposition. Ex-President John Adams returned to Massachusetts a soured and disappointed man. His son, John Quincy Adams, shortly after his father reached home at Braintree, arrived from Europe, after eight years' creditable service in diplomatic stations. He, too, was grim-faced and sulky, and, like most office-holders out of office, took a gloomy and desponding view of the future. The father, the son, and the whole family imparted their grievances to their friends in Massachusetts, which created more or less unhappiness and demoralization among the Federalists. Young Adams was made still more unhappy by President Jefferson's removing him from the office of Commissioner of Bankruptcy, to which he had been appointed by one of the "midnight judges" created by his father the night before he took his departure from Washington, without saying as much as, "Goodby, Mr. Jefferson." This shameful partisan act of President Jefferson, in turning out the only Adams in office, greatly vexed and offended Mrs. Adams, his mother, one of the noblest and best of women. Mrs. Adams had reason to expect better things from President Jefferson; she had been a mother to his daughter Maria, whom he adored. When a bright-eyed, fair-haired, motherless girl, in foreign lands and in Philadelphia, she was her companion and

protector. Mrs. Adams was warmly attached to Maria, who afterward became the wife of Mr. Eppes, and keenly felt the blow aimed at her promising son John. Her letter of condolence to Mr. Jefferson, on the death of Mrs. Eppes, is a model in its way. It breathes the sentiments of a true mother. There were but few women in the country, at the time, like John Quincy Adams' mother.

Adams being out of office, rather rusty in the law, and with no encouraging prospects of making a respectable living by his profession, began to exhibit an itching desire to secure office. What a strange infatuation comes over most men after holding a public place for a few years! They seem to lose all desire and ambition to return to their former occupation. The loss of office seems to turn the current of the lives of many men into a downward stream, and they who might have been distinguished in their professions and bright examples to all become abject failures. We have no evidence that John Quincy Adams ever held any high position as a lawyer. In fact, he was never long enough out of office. His only appearance in court that we can recall, in about forty years, was in the *Amistad* captive case in 1841. He lived in and on office nearly all his life, and died a richer man than Webster or Clay. It is due to Mr. Adams to say he did not live extravagantly.

We infer from Mr. Morse's account of Mr. Adams, that about the time he returned from Europe in 1801, his law practice was not in the way of his accepting office and removing to Washington, where retainers in the United States court were then not so common as now. Waiting for Boston clients was dull business, and so we find Mr. Adams ready to serve the people in any capacity, State or United States representative. There were divisions in the Federal party, then, as there are divided leaders in both of the great parties to-day. Mr. Morse informs us that "the select coterie of gentlemen in the State who, in those times, bore an active and influential part in politics were nearly all Hamiltonians, but the adherents of President Adams were numerically strong." Affairs were becoming serious with Mr. Adams. He had been removed from the position of Commissioner of Bankruptcy which paid well, and law business was not encouraging. He was the representative of that portion of the Federal party that was attached to his father, ex-President Adams; but that faction was not strong enough to elect him to the Legislature or Congress. Like all parties in a minority, the Jeffersonians were ready to make a dicker with the Adams faction. The student of history will find that Adamses were just as ready to make a bargain, in 1802, as John Kelly and Tammany Hall in 1882. To quote the language of his son Charles Francis Adams, referring to the situation at the time and the relations the Adams

family held to President Jefferson: "Yet in the ardor of their hostility to Mr. Jefferson they were ready to overlook a great deal." That is, the family and friends were willing to make great sacrifices, provided the Democrats would unite on John Quincy Adams and elect him to office. With the understanding that he was ready to forget the past and, if elected, give a reasonable support to Mr. Jefferson's administration, he was put forward as an independent candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives. In the same district, in the county of Essex, resided Colonel Pickering, formerly Secretary of State in Washington in Adams' cabinet. Colonel Pickering represented the Alexander Hamilton wing of the Federal party in Massachusetts, as Collector Robertson represented in New York the "Garfield Republicans." Pickering, although a member of Adams' cabinet, opposed his re-election in 1800. He favored George Washington for "a third term" and took an active part before Washington's death to bring him forward. He was a politician and did not believe that Adams could be re-elected. His judgment proved correct. Colonel Pickering was placed in nomination for Representative against Adams by the Federal party. As a matter of course the Democrats played false to Adams—they supported their own candidate and elected him. Adams failed by less than sixty votes, and Pickering by about a hundred. Mr. Charles Francis Adams moralizes over the defeat of his father, and writes that "the people appeared to be very indifferent in regard to the election." He adds, "Such coalitions are seldom hearty, especially at first." It will occur to most persons that Charles Francis Adams and some of his sons have realized this fact in a painfully humiliating way.

A little later on we find John Quincy Adams again in the market prepared to dicker with Democrats in the Massachusetts Legislature, to which place he had been elected by a coalition. Two vacancies were about to occur in the United States Senate at this time. The two branches of the Legislature were controlled by Federalists, but that party was somewhat divided after the manner of the New York Legislature in the contest for Senator between Conkling, Depew, and others. Charles Francis Adams tells us that there were what he calls many "intermediate men" in the Massachusetts body. These were what we would call "independents," or rule and ruin men. So the Adams family were the original Jacobs, "independents," "bolters," and "scratchers"—gentlemen who talk civil service reform and vote the Democratic ticket. An attempt was made to push Colonel Pickering through to an election, which failed; and a perseverance in it threatened to be followed by the election of a full-blooded Democrat. The "intermediates" were more magnanimous than the half-breeds in the New York

Legislature—they would support Pickering only on one condition, and that was they should have one of their own men, or they would elect a Jeffersonian Democrat. A compromise was made, and Pickering and Adams were chosen United States Senators, which duty they entered upon March 3, 1803.

As we lift the curtain of history and show the principal actors upon the political stage during the administration of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, the reader will learn how John Quincy Adams and his father drifted away from the old Federal landmarks and finally brought up in the Democratic camp. It was patriotism and principle, of course, that carried John Quincy Adams by slow and easy stages into the support of the extreme measures of President Jefferson. Mr. Morse tells us so, and we must believe it. It is amusing to note the diverse sentiments and feelings which public men manifest toward great public principles or institutions, according to the different modes in which they affect them personally. We never knew an eminent statesman or a second-rate politician, who made a short turn in politics and jumped squarely over the fence into an ancient enemy's pasture, who did not claim that he was actuated by high principles of honor and patriotism.

About the time Mr. Adams took his seat in the United States Senate, it began to be apparent to the observing and ambitious politician that the Federal party was on the "down grade." Washington was dead; Hamilton killed by Burr; Jay retired to private life; Marshall on the bench; Wolcott up for Cowes and a market—the party divided into guerilla squads; most of its members, like Hessians, ready to hire out to the best paymaster. John Quincy Adams looked abroad, and saw the grand old party crumbling to pieces. Had he been a natural-born leader, a splendid opportunity was open to him to rally the broken and disorganized Federal ranks; but he was not. He was a natural combatant, but not a leader. Mr. Adams, with the foresight, sagacity, and thrift of a New Englander, saw no political future for him by following the Federal party. It was natural that he should come to the conclusion that, if he was to remain in public life, his course and action were not in the direction of the languishing Federal party. He therefore determined to shape his course accordingly, and he played his part with great astuteness. He approached the democratic camp by circuitous routes. It was clear to Jefferson, Madison, and Dr. Rush, that Mr. Adams was heading in that direction. It would have been too plain and scandalous to have gone right over into the Democratic ranks. He had four or five years to serve as Senator, and had ample time to play his little game, which, after a while, became so apparent that the entire Federal press of the nation opened fire on him for his glaring treachery. Who can doubt that Adams listened to the song of the siren, and was se-

duced by the voice of the charmer when we find Mr. Morse furnishing the evidence that he was tampered with by the tempter? On page 68 Mr. Morse writes: "As early as November, 1805, Mr. Adams, being still what may be described as an independent Federalist, was approached by Dr. Rush with tentative suggestions concerning a foreign mission." The reader who follows Mr. Adams' course in the Senate from this date, November 5th, cannot doubt that he was voting on all important measures brought forward by the administration, to secure a foreign mission. Follow Mr. Adams and Mr. Morse, and no one will have any reason to doubt, on the evidence of Mr. Adams' votes, that the Federal newspapers that were charging him with treachery, and with having sold himself to the Jeffersonian Democracy were, to a certain extent, justified. Circumstantial evidence in some instances is more convincing than accepted proof.

The Federalists everywhere were so shocked at Mr. Adams' bold apostasy that they expressed their indignation in the most pronounced and acrimonious way. It was made so hot for him that he was forced to resign. To his shame and disgrace he had only been out of the Senate a short time before he unblushingly accepted office from President Madison. He resigned at the close of Jefferson's administration, and one of the first acts of President Madison's was to nominate him as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Mr. Madison took office on March 4th; on the 6th, Adams' name was sent to the Senate. The Jeffersonian Democracy, though largely in the majority in the Senate, were not then prepared to reward treason. Mr. Adams was not confirmed. On the next day, March 7th, they resolved that "it is inexpedient at this time to appoint a minister from the United States to the court of Russia." This was the easiest way to let off President Jefferson and Mr. Adams, but the President was determined not to be snubbed by the Senate. It took him and his henchmen some three months to bring the members of the Senate to the point of confirmation. The usual tactics used by every administration from Jefferson to Hayes and Garfield were brought to bear, and by the aid of the pressure of administrative patronage Mr. Adams was confirmed June 26th.

S. G. Goodrich, whose uncle represented Connecticut in the United States Senate from 1807 to 1813, writes: "It is curious and instructive to know that soon after March, 1808, John Quincy Adams, having lost caste with the Federalists of Massachusetts, went to Jefferson and accused them of treasonable designs, and was consequently made a good Democrat, and sent as Minister to Russia." The distinguished men who took part in the Hartford Convention some years later, George Cabot, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Stephen Longfellow, James Hillhouse, George Bliss,

and many others were decidedly of the opinion that it was Mr. Adams who invented the calumny that the Northern Federalists convened at Hartford with treasonable designs against the Union. Indeed, the Federal press of New England ventured the charge from day to day that Mr. Adams was the author of the shameful story. Twenty years had rolled by when the story was again revived by the appearance of a letter written by Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Giles, a famous Virginia Democrat, dated December 26, 1825, detailing the disclosures of Adams respecting the designs of the Eastern Federalists in 1808. His letter was brought out previous to the Presidential election of 1828. It produced considerable excitement among the leading men of Massachusetts, and for a time, "The American Statesman" informs us, "alienated in a measure the affections and impaired the confidence and esteem of many of the friends of Mr. Adams in that State." On November 26, 1828, thirteen citizens of Massachusetts, residing in or near Boston, addressed a letter to Mr. Adams, asking from him such a full and precise statement of the facts and evidence relating to this accusation as might enable them fairly to meet and answer it. We infer, from the response of "the thirteen citizens of Massachusetts" to Mr. Adams' reply, that he did not "enable them fairly to meet and answer" the charges.

Mr. Adams was not a popular representative of the American people in foreign countries, nor a successful diplomat. We are made to understand this by Mr. Morse. He was at the Russian court during the most exciting and eventful period in the history of that country. He was there during the whole period of the great wars of Napoleon. He was there during the time Napoleon advanced into the very bowels of the Muscovite land with the grandest army that ever made Europe tremble under its march. He was at St. Petersburg when Moscow was burning, and must have witnessed first the despair of the Russian people and then their rejoicing over the disasters that befell Napoleon's grand army. He might have witnessed, too, the forced marches of the allies upon Paris and the capture of that gay capital. It was an opportunity which many Americans would have made more of than Mr. Adams. There was nothing specially brilliant in his stay at the Russian court. Mr. Morse tells us that "he was less liked by his travelling fellow-countrymen than by the Russians." It is a matter of family history that the Adams family were cold, uncivil, imperious, and repelling. It was like encountering an iceberg to approach any of them. It ought not to be called rudeness and bad manners, but refined superciliousness which gave men to understand that their pottery was of a finer texture than any one else's.

Mr. Morse in his account of the meeting of the American Commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, to negotiate peace with the British Commissioner, reveals

Mr. Adams' infirmity of character. He exhibits him as a man of very bad temper, inordinate vanity, and great self-sufficiency. He adds that, owing to his irascibility, he came very near defeating the object for which the Commissioners met. He sulked and relinquished his duty because Messrs. Clay and Gallatin differed with him on certain points, and left the business for some time to be managed by Messrs. Clay and Gallatin. In fact, the true character of Adams was shown. He could agree with nobody but himself, and there was some doubt about that at times. Adams and Clay, as we find recorded in Adams' diary, were about as combative and factious as Hamilton and his father in Washington's cabinet meetings. It was a cock-fight between them nearly all the time at Ghent.

Mr. Adams was continually in a quarrel with almost every man he was brought into contact with officially. He had the infirmity of character to be forever repelling friends and making enemies. Mr. Morse makes it appear pretty clearly that Mr. Adams was impressed with the idea that every man who differed with him on great questions was influenced by personal considerations. In regard to the ratification of the Spanish treaty to acquire Florida, he charged Mr. Clay with urging the editor of the *Washington Gazette* to oppose it. He records in his diary: "In spite of the continuous, systematic, and laborious effort of Mr. Clay and his partisans to make it unpopular, it was ratified by a handsome majority, there being against it only four votes—Brown, of Louisiana, who married a sister of Clay's wife; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, from mere political subserviency to Clay; Williams, of Tennessee, because he hated General Jackson, and Trimble, of Ohio, from some 'maggot of the brain.'" Such were the views entertained by this "Christian statesman" toward his friends and acquaintances with whom he was in daily intercourse. He was not a believer in the divine injunction, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

Mr. Adams returned from eight years more of diplomacy abroad, to drop his lines in the pleasant place of Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet. He, of all the Adams family, was favored with a succession of the highest honors. He returned to find the party which had first brought him into public life scattered and almost destroyed. It is known in history as the "era of good feeling," as there were no longer any formidable party divisions. There was anything but good feeling among the members of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, particularly during the last four years of his administration, for the reason that every member of his cabinet was a candidate for the Presidency, as were several of the leading members of Congress, including General Jackson, Clay, and Lowndes. Every member of the cabinet was shaping his course to make interest to secure the nomi-

nation. Mr. Adams fancied that he was appointed Secretary of State with a view of becoming the successor of Mr. Monroe. The office of Secretary of State was looked upon as the stepping stone to the White House. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe went from the State Department to the Presidency, and why not Mr. Adams? He had every reason to expect that he was in line for the highest office of the nation.

To Mr. Adams as Secretary of State belongs the credit of originating what is falsely called the "Monroe Doctrine." Properly it is the Adams doctrine. He was the first to suggest it, and on his recommendation President Monroe said in his annual message to Congress in 1823: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continent by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization." Mr. Morse calls attention to the fact that both Mr. Adams and President Monroe used the phrase "continents," including thereby South as well as North America. Mr. Adams was in advance of the public men of the times on this question, but on that which became the all-absorbing and exciting one for nearly half a century, he was far behind the leading statesmen and politicians of the North. He was not outspoken on the question of slavery, for reasons which will be explained hereafter. Mr. Morse apologizes for Mr. Adams not being more pronounced on this vital question. He makes the weak and flimsy excuse that pending the agitation of the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union of States by Congress, "Mr. Adams, who was deeply absorbed in the perplexing affairs of his department, into which this domestic problem did not enter, was at first careless of it."

What a weak subterfuge is this! Here was a measure which, in respect to the excitement it produced and its influence upon our national destiny, has no parallel in the history of the government, and we are gravely told that Mr. Adams was so engaged in other matters that he was not at first interested in the domestic problem, and was careless of it. What an admission to make, what an apology to offer for a man whom his biographer claims to have been one of the foremost statesmen of the times! Here was the country shaken from centre to circumference on the admission of Missouri as a State, and Mr. Adams was so perplexed with other affairs that he actually went to sleep while the whole country was in a fearful state of excitement. "Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." Mr. Morse relates "at first he was careless of it," but during what period of Mr. Monroe's administration was Mr. Adams watchful, active, and outspoken against the advance of slavery? While every representative from the free States except

two or three "dough faces," with some few from slave States were found voicing the free sentiment of the North as almost every legislature in the free States declared against admitting any more slave territory, Mr. Adams was acquiescing in cabinet councils with Calhoun, Crawford & Co., and on the constitutional right to admit Missouri as a slave State was writing down in his diary that while slavery was a curse and an abomination "there was no way at once of preserving the Union and escaping from the present emergency save through the door of compromise." It is Lavater, we believe, who says that "he who writes what he should speak and does not speak what he writes is either like a wolf in sheep's clothing or like a sheep in wolf's skin."

Let us not be charged with being cynical because we direct the reader's attention to the fact that in the opening contest of freedom against slavery John Quincy Adams was not on the side of freedom. The record made up by the members of President Monroe's cabinet on the question "Had Congress the power to prohibit slavery in a Territory" is not creditable to their honesty or patriotism. Their action was a scandalous deception put upon Congress and the country. So disgraceful was the record that it mysteriously disappeared from the archives of the State Department during President Monroe's administration and no trace of it has yet been found. John Quincy Adams was a party to the fraud. On the question of admitting Missouri the North and South were divided by Mason and Dixon's line. The Federalists and Democrats of the free States stood firmly together. For the first time in the history of the country the Democrats of the North presented almost a united front against the advance of slavery. Mr. Benton in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate" relates why the Democracy yielded to the slave power and deserted the cause of freedom. The South said to the Democrats of the North "There can be no united Democratic party if you continue to make war on our institutions." That threat had its effect. The attentive reader of history will find that from that time up to and after the Civil War the Democratic party as a party was the auxiliary of slavery.

The inquirer has but to read what the advance guard of freedom, the Lundys, Tappans, Leavitts, Hoppers, Goodells, Denisons thought of Mr. Adams' conduct during the controversy over the admission of Missouri to understand that he was not a friend of the cause they had so much at heart. It is notorious that every member of Mr. Monroe's cabinet opposed the prohibitory clause against slavery for the reason that every member was a candidate for President, and it was known that no man could possibly reach the Presidency unless he was on the side of the South and preferred by the Virginian dynasty. On the passage of the bill admitting Missouri

as a slave State, President Monroe submitted to his cabinet the question of approval, and the bill having been approved by Mr. Adams and the other members of the cabinet it was signed by the President, and the victory of the slave power was complete. Slavery was fastened upon the Territory of Arkansas and the new State of Missouri, and the dark cloud, surcharged with its numberless wrongs and woes, rolled heavily across the Mississippi. And the man who acquiesced in this great wrong against freedom is canonized as the champion of freedom. How history is misrepresented—how the world is imposed upon!

Mr. Adams at the time favored the Missouri compromise, "believing it to be," he said, all that could be effected under the present constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union in hazard. The fact is Mr. Adams had the "Presidency on the brain," and his acquiescence in the cause of slavery reveals and demonstrates the sacrifices of principle and of conscience that the aspiring public men of the Nation were compelled to make in order to secure the favor and support of the exacting and dominating power, that so long and so completely dictated the policy of the government and the executive of the Nation. Mr. Adams, like all the public men who had their eyes on the Presidency, was playing his game. His participation in the fraud, by which Missouri was brought into the Union as a slave State, and his marked silence on the exciting question, did not aid him at all with the slave power to secure the high office to which he aspired. He received indifferent support from the men he had served. The South gave him feeble assistance. The fact is he was not their choice. He was a New Englander, and the policy of the South, from the organization of the government, was to trust only a slave owner in the office of President. Of the seventy votes that made John Adams President in 1796 he received but twelve that could not be counted as from reliable Democratic States, and ten of these were from Maryland and Delaware. Maryland and Delaware, for the first sixty years of the government, on all great questions were oftener found antagonizing the South than Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Of the eighty-four votes cast for John Quincy Adams in the Electoral College in 1824, four came from Delaware and Maryland and two from Louisiana. He reached the White House through what the journals of to-day would call a bargain. As John Randolph expressed it in a sentence of virulent satire, condensing the venom of a whole brood of cobra da capellos, "by a Union of the puritan and the blackleg of Blifil and Black George." Randolph used this language in the discussion on the Panama Mission, when Mr. Clay called him out. The duel ended with nobody hurt and a hand shaking. There was only a bowing acquaintance between

Clay and Randolph afterward. Mr. Morse tells us that "the story of the intrigue with Mr. Clay to secure the Presidency was never really believed by any one except General Jackson, and the beliefs of General Jackson are of little consequence." This flippant way of speaking of General Jackson would have been all very well for an old-fashioned Whig editor or orator in Jackson's time, but giving utterance to such sentiments is not a truthful reflex of history. Mr. Morse ignores what is the truth of history. No President, not even Washington, so enjoyed the confidence of the great mass of the American people as Andrew Jackson. They had unbounded faith in all he said and did, and the fact that they sustained him in the most audacious usurpations and flagitious acts, should have admonished Mr. Morse against indulging in such sneers and such loose talk. Jackson had taken possession of the hearts of the people, and the unceasing affection for the man was stronger with the masses than the wise words of the politicians' argumentation. It is perhaps true that but few believe in the story of a bargain, intrigue, and management told concerning Adams and Clay, but General Jackson believed it, and what is more, made the country believe it; and the belief in it by the country had more to do with defeating Adams in 1828 than any other issue before the people. A thousand presses rang with the charge, and ten thousand orators echoed it from ten thousand stumps. In the dram shop, on the muster ground, by the fireside, in the stage coach, and on the steamboat, it was the engrossing topic of discourse. Mr. Morse is quite mistaken in supposing that "the story was never really believed by any one except General Jackson." He ought to have known as well that "the beliefs of General Jackson" were of some account. The man who doubts it has failed to read Democratic newspapers, or to hear an oration from Samuel J. Tilden.

Mr. Morse is in error in stating that "if political boundary lines were disregarded, and the counting were simply of the number of persons throughout the country who had voted for Adams electors, and the number who had voted for Jackson electors, the preponderance of individual votes was handsomely on Mr. Adams' side." This statement is wide of the truth. The figures show that Jackson's aggregate vote in the Union was larger than Mr. Adams. His plurality over Adams was not far from fifty thousand. Adams received but about ten thousand votes south of the Potomac, while Lincoln in 1860 received nearly twenty thousand. Mr. Adams, although declared elected President of the United States by the House of Representatives, was not in the popular judgment at the time the choice of the people of the nation. Had the people of New York, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Vermont chosen their electors instead of

the legislatures of these States it was generally believed that Jackson would have secured a majority of the Electoral College. S. G. Goodrich, who was in the gallery of the House of Representatives at the time the vote was declared, writes, "the popular sentiment of the country was no doubt overruled by electing to the chief magistracy the second of the three candidates eligible to the office, and this was severely avenged four years afterward at the polls." Mr. Goodrich was not a Democrat.

Mr. Adams' administration had much to contend against. From the start every movement in and out of Congress was directed toward making it odious and unpopular. Shortly after the opening of Congress Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky proclaimed: "This administration must be put down even as if it were as pure as the Angels of Heaven." Such was the spirit manifested by the Democrats. Jackson organs and orators raised the cry of "bargain and corruption," and the hills and valleys over the land echoed back the shout. Mr. Adams had enemies outside and inside his councils. He was as unfortunate as his father in selecting the members of his cabinet. This mistake can be traced to "the era of good feeling," when party lines were abolished, as during Mr. Monroe's administration. The presidential contest of 1824 was not a political one, but simply a personal struggle. All the candidates were so-called Democrats. Mr. Adams failed to understand, in preparing the ship of state for a four years' voyage, that he must in the nature of things encounter adverse winds, tempests, and breakers, and that his success depended on true and tried navigators. He expected plain sailing and quiet seas; and supposed all his officers were patriots, and no one cared for promotion. Poor, deluded Mr. Adams! He soon found that one of his trusted pilots, Barbour of Virginia, was, in the language of Mr. Morse, "extremely anxious for the mission to England, in order to find a good harbor ere the approaching storm should burst." Mr. Barbour resigned the office of Secretary of War, and Mr. Peter B. Porter was appointed in his place. Several of Mr. Adams' shrewd, sharp friends, among them Thurlow Weed, strongly urged Mr. Adams to transfer McLean from the Post Office to the War Department, and to give the place of Postmaster-General to Porter, who was a thorough politician. Had this been done New York might have given her electoral vote to Adams in 1828, and re-elected him President. Jackson carried the State only by about 5,000 majority. Adams had been made aware of McLean's perfidy. While expressing the warmest friendship for Mr. Adams, he was secretly working in the interest of General Jackson. Mr. Adams ought to have learned from Washington's experience "that to seek to represent the minority in the administration is a problem as yet unsoluble." McLean was as much out of

place in his cabinet as was Jefferson in Washington's. McLean was rewarded for his treachery by Jackson, who made him a judge of the United States Supreme Court. (It is needless to add that this trickster and trader McLean hailed from Ohio.) In connection with this matter it may be well to say that Mr. Adams is the subject of laudation from every advocate of civil service reform, from the fact that he made but few removals from office. The reason was simply because every man in office belonged to his party. He had been eight years in Mr. Monroe's administration, and no doubt had more or less to do with providing places for nine out of ten of the men holding office in Washington and throughout the country. His election was a continuation of the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe regime. Hence there was no pressure from partisans such as we find when there is a change of parties going into power. It is easy enough to be honest when there is no temptation in the way. There were sagacious men in Mr. Adams' time who thought if he had been more of a partisan than General Jackson, he might not have been successful in 1828. The Barnacle family was found in every department of the Government during Mr. Adams' administration. And these "weighty buttoned-up men," as described by Dickens in his account of "The Whole Science of Government," was largely in the hands of old jobbers and contractors.

On leaving office, John Quincy Adams' conduct was as uncivil and churlish to President Jackson as that of his father had been to Jefferson. He did not call to pay his respects to the new President for the reason, it was alleged, that Jackson had omitted to call on him on his arrival at the Capitol. This hardly justified a gentleman reared in European Courts and in the best society of this country in doing a rude act. Jackson was a blunt old soldier, brought up in the backwoods and familiar with the usage of camps, but he was incapable of doing anything so discourteous. The fact is, there was a great deal of the overgrown school-boy about the members of the Adams family. We are told that when Jackson was being inaugurated as President, amid the shouts of the assembled thousands, Mr. Adams was taking his usual horseback ride. He had no interest in the grand spectacle going on at the Capitol. It was a cold day for the Adams family. How different was the course of General Jackson on the occasion of the last levee of President Monroe, when Mr. Adams, the elect and General Jackson were brought face to face, a writer, who was present, relates, "Mr. Adams was by himself; General Jackson had a large handsome lady on his arm. They looked at each other for a moment, and then General Jackson moved forward, and reaching out his long arm, said, 'How do you do, Mr. Adams? I give you my left hand for the right, as you see, is devoted to the fair.' I hope you are very well,

sir.' All this was gallantly and heartily said and done. Mr. Adams took the general's hand and said, with chilling coldness, 'Very well, sir; I hope General Jackson is well.' It was curious to see the Western planter, the Indian fighter, the stern old soldier who had written his country's glory in the blood of the enemy at New Orleans, genial and gracious in the midst of court, while the old courtier and diplomat was stiff, rigid, cold as a statue. It was all the more remarkable from the fact that four hours earlier the former had been defeated and the latter was the victor in the struggle for one of the highest objects of human ambition."

We have no desire to set down aught in malice against the Adams family, nor to criticise them harshly. On the contrary, we wish to be fair, just, and impartial. We confess we find it difficult to conquer the prejudice we have against canters and pretenders. We have long entertained a warm regard and reverence for John Adams, next to that we have for Washington and Franklin. On the approach of every Fourth of July we found our patriotism freshly kindled and our admiration increased for "Old John," as we read how he directed Independence Day should be celebrated. Under the inspiration of his letter we have frequently waked the echoes of the early morn with Chinese crackers and miniature cannon. We had read of the "Old Man Eloquent" in the old House of Representatives, and of his burning and consuming indignation against the "Atherton gag law," which denied the right of petition and free speech. We had heard of him in the hand-to-hand contests with the champions of the slave power, and were carried away in admiration of the old man's earnestness and courage in defense of the right of petition and free speech. This was when he was not a Democrat. It was after the Democracy and the South had ignored and deserted him. He had served the propagandists of slavery with complacent silence for many years. His son, Charles Francis Adams, alluding to his election to the United States Senate in 1802, says he owed his election to the fact that he was not a "manageable party man"—that is, he believed in scratching and bolting while acting inside of the Federal party. We say in justice to John Quincy Adams, that he followed pretty nearly a straight line so long as he held office from the Democracy. We have no recollection of bolting or scratching during Madison's, Monroe's, or his own administration. He was almost as faithful to the Democratic party as the most devoted follower of that party. He was a "manageable party man" for nearly twenty years. During his administration he set his face very decidedly against giving places to old Federalists. He was looking for a re-nomination, and with the caution of an old politician, he did not want to offend the Democratic party on which he relied to nominate and elect him.

About the time ex-President Adams was returned to Congress in 1832, the Anti-Slavery movement made its appearance in several of the free States. It developed formidable proportions in Massachusetts. The organization of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and its appeal to the conscience and reason of the country evoked responses in several localities. Auxiliary societies were organized not only in Massachusetts and New England, but also in New York, Pennsylvania, and other free States. Nearly all who engaged in the work were members of Christian churches. The best men in Massachusetts were making themselves felt in the formation of these societies. With the violence of the Pro-Slavery party against the teachings of the Sewalls, Tappans, Leavitts, Loring, Childs, Denisons, Garrisons and others, the Anti-Slavery men became more bold and defiant and stronger in their organizations, which encouraged here and there a representative in Congress, who had no favors to expect from Jackson or Van Buren, to speak out against aggression of the slave power. Mr. Adams was bold and eloquent in defense of free speech and the sacred right of petition, but in his highest flight of oratory and declamation his flashes of indignation never made the hair on the head of the slave owner stand on end like the quills of the fretful porcupine. His blows were not the telling ones that brought blood at every stroke dealt by Garrison, Giddings, Gerrit Smith, and other members of the advanced guard of freedom. Mr. Adams was not even an advanced Anti-Slavery Whig. There were Whigs and Democrats from Northern States in Congress during the exciting slavery contest from 1835 to 1848 who would not vote to admit a slave State into the Union. In 1836 Mr. Adams held that Arkansas had a right to come into the Union "with her slaves and her slave laws." In 1840, while earnestly and forcibly advocating the reception of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he declared that he was not himself prepared to vote for it. On the slavery question he was not a leader nor a teacher. He was a trimmer, a tide-waiter, and a Micawber.

To do him justice, he was a brave old man as a champion in the cause of the right of petition and the freedom of speech. If he had moral convictions on the question of emancipation, he wrote them down in the sealed book of his diary, but he rarely, if ever, had the courage to express his convictions on the floor of Congress. His was not the bold and defiant denouncing of the wickedness of slavery like Giddings and Gerrit Smith. Mr. Adams did on several occasions utter hard and strong language against the evils of slavery, but no stronger than was used by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. He did not press into the forlorn hope like Garrison, Stanton, Burleigh, Oliver Johnson, Lovejoy, Phillips, and a score or more who took

their lives in their hands when doing missionary duty. Fighting the good fight on the floor of Congress was parlor amusement compared to encountering the storms of brick-bats, cobble-stones, and rope's-ends. Nevertheless, John Quincy Adams did noble work ; but he is not entitled to be canonized as one of freedom's saints.

A well-known New England writer of Mr. Adams' party, referring to him at the time, says : " His age, the high position he had held, his vast experience, and unbounded store of knowledge might have made him the arbiter of the body. Such, however, was his love of gladiatorial displays that he did more to promote scenes of collision, strife, violence in words and deeds, than any other member. I remember one day to have been on the floor of the House when he attacked Wise, of Virginia, with great personality and bitterness. In allusion to the Cilley duel with which he was connected, he spoke of him as coming into the Assembly ' his hands dripping with blood.' There was a terrible jarring tone in his voice which gave added effect to the denunciation. Every person present seemed thrilled with a sort of horror, rather toward Mr. Adams than the object of his reproaches. In speaking of this scene to me afterward an eminent member of Congress said that ' Mr. Adams' greatest delight was to be the hero of a row.' There is no doubt that the rude personal passages which often occur in the House of Representatives derive countenance from Mr. Adams' example. It is melancholy to reflect how a great intellect and, on the whole, a great life were marred and dwarfed by inherent personal defects." Mr. Morse does not make his hero shine as a bright particular star in the many grand spectacular displays on the floor of the House during the exciting period from 1835 to 1846.

An old Anti-Slavery man, James G. Birney, characterized Mr. Adams' course during the exciting times in Congress on the subject of the slavery question as " eccentric, whimsical, inconsistent and unworthy of a statesman of large views." The criticism of other well-known Anti-Slavery men was even more severe against Mr. Adams. After all, perhaps, in view of the condition of public sentiment, we ought not to judge Mr. Adams with such severity and uncharitableness. The press and the pulpit of the North at the time were cringing to the slave power. Garrison and his followers, who dared to denounce the evils of slavery, were hunted down like wild beasts. It was safer then to be a forger, a counterfeiter, or a burglar, than an abolitionist. No felon could be treated with such barbarity as the respectable worshippers of slavery in Boston treated Garrison and some of the ladies who were acting with him in the cause of freedom. All the waters in the Charles River can never wash out that stain upon the character of our modern Athens. The press and the great publishing houses at the time to which we

allude were muzzled. Every book and religious tract, before being issued, was relieved of everything calculated to offend in the slightest way the sensitive nerves of the upholders of slavery. Most of the churches were as truckling as cheap Democratic editors. The reverend doctors of divinity and eminent professors at the head of universities and colleges preached the sacredness of slavery. The slave power was dictating morals, religion, and politics to the intelligent and Christian people of the free States. Let us say, then, in the way of apology for Mr. Adams, that no man ought to be sharply censured for not being beyond his age in virtue, humanity, and patriotism. And no man's friends should claim for him virtues which he does not possess.

HUGH HASTINGS

THE COOPER MONUMENT

The traveller unacquainted with its history or the object of its erection, traversing Butternut Valley even at this late day, is no doubt at a loss to account for the white marble column, surmounted by a vase and enclosed by a substantial iron paling, standing at the west side of the highway, some two and a half miles below the village of Morris. This monument has now become one of Otsego's old landmarks, having been erected by the late Judge William Cooper, of Cooperstown, January 7, 1801, to mark the spot where his eldest daughter, Miss Anna Cooper, was instantly killed by a fall from her horse, on September 10, 1800. I quote from "Chronicles of Cooperstown," published anonymously in 1838, but at this time her brother, the late J. Fenimore Cooper, is generally believed to have been the author of the "Chronicles:" "Miss Cooper was killed in the public highway about a mile from the residence of General Morris, in the town of Butternuts (now town of Morris), where a monument has stood thirty-seven years to commemorate the sad event. She is interred in the burying-ground of her family (at Cooperstown), under a slab that, singularly enough, while it is inscribed by some feeling lines written by her father, does not even contain her name!"

Miss Cooper, accompanied by several ladies and gentlemen, all on horseback, set out from Cooperstown early on the morning of September 10th, on a visit to the family of General Morris, twenty-five miles from that town, she being with a gentleman, some distance in advance of the others, when her horse shied at the barking of a dog which ran out from a farm house, and threw her. I have these particulars from a relative, now deceased, who was with the party.

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CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS IN THE COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS

Upon the termination of the seven years' war, and the cession by France to England of the Canadas and of her territories east of the Mississippi River, many of the Western Indians, who had been the allies and close friends of the French, refused to recognize the change of jurisdiction, renewed hostilities, by seizing Mackinaw and other military posts in the north-west, of which the English had taken possession, and in 1763 the great Indian chief Pontiac, who had under his command eighteen Indian nations, advanced upon Detroit, and held that important post in a state of siege for about four months. To suppress these and other apprehended Indian hostilities, a body of about twelve hundred English troops rendezvoused at Albany, in the State of New York, in the spring of 1764, being placed under the command of General John Bradstreet.

Among the officers attached to this expedition was Thomas Morris, a captain in the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, who singularly enough had been preceded by his father and grandfather in the same rank in that particular regiment. Another member of his ancestral family, an uncle, was at one time a Lieutenant-Colonel in the same regiment.

Captain Morris was a native of England, and came to this country to enter the military service. He was a highly intelligent and well-educated gentleman, as were many of the English officers who came to serve in the old French war. Among them was Richard Montgomery, afterward the famous General Montgomery, who, after serving here as a captain in the regiment with Morris, returned to Ireland only to come to America again in a few years, and marry an American lady of a prominent family, fix a residence on the banks of the Hudson, occupy a legislative position, and finally lay down his life under the walls of Quebec to establish our independence as a nation.

It was probably at Albany and during the seven years' war that Captain Morris formed an acquaintance with the family of Major Henry Van Schaack, a merchant of that city, who had been engaged in the western fur trade, and who had served in the then late war in the different capacities of lieutenant, paymaster and commissary of the musters. Major Van Schaack was in many respects a remarkable man, and no doubt found in Morris a congenial and active spirit, while their military relations probably

brought them into intimate intercourse. Major Van Schaack had married in Albany, in 1760, Miss Jane Holland, a lady possessing many refined and shining qualities, for which she was noted to the day of her death, which took place at Kinderhook, in 1815. She was a member of an old and highly reputable New York family in our colonial days, being a daughter of Hitchen Holland, who for ten years or more was a lieutenant and afterward captain of one of the independent military companies in the province of New York, and served through the seven years' war. His brother Henry was captain of a military company stationed at Fort Hunter as early as 1734, and was afterward in responsible civil stations. Another brother, Edward Holland, was at one time Mayor of Albany, and afterward Mayor of the City of New York and a member of the Provincial Council previous to the revolution.

In May General Bradstreet's army proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Stanwix, and thence westward by the usual route of the chain of military posts and the two great lakes to Detroit. In the progress of the expedition Captain Morris corresponded with Major Van Schaack's family, and some of his letters are still preserved.

In the latter part of August the expedition arrived at a place on the south side of Lake Erie, then called Cedar Point, being at the mouth of the Miami River, near the site of the present city of Toledo, and about fifty miles from Detroit. At this point General Bradstreet decided to dispatch Captain Morris up the river into the interior country, then a wilderness, to pacify the various tribes of Indians occupying that country, and reconcile them to their recent change of allegiance from France to England, consequent upon the treaty of 1763.

A scene took place in General Bradstreet's tent, where Morris was dining with the General after having been assigned to the command of this side expedition, which is thus graphically described by Morris in his Journal: "'Morris,' said the General to Captain Morris, 'I have a French fellow here, my prisoner, who expects to be hanged for treason; he speaks all the Indian languages, and if you think he can be of use to you, I'll send for him, pardon him, and send him with you.' I answered, 'I am glad you have thought of it, sir; I wish you would.' The prisoner, whose name was Godefroi, was accordingly sent for, and as soon as he entered the tent he turned pale, and fell on his knees, begging for mercy. The general telling him that it was in his power to hang him, concluded with saying, 'I give thee thy life; take care of this gentleman.' The man expressed a grateful sense of the mercy shown him, and protested that he would be faithful; and indeed his behavior afterward proved that he was sincere in his promise. As General Bradstreet had pardoned him on my account, he considered me as his de-

liverer. Little minds hate obligations, and thence the transition is easy to the hatred of their benefactors ; this man's soul was of another nature, and though in a low station, a noble pride urged him to throw a heavier weight of obligation on him to whom he thought he was indebted for his liberty, if not his life ; and he had the singular satisfaction of owing those blessings to one who fancied he owed the same to me."

Morris' party commenced the ascent of the river on the 26th of August, about 4 P.M., at the same time the army proceeded to Detroit. An escort was assigned to Morris, consisting of about a dozen friendly Indians, two servants, and another French Canadian besides Godefroi, the latter speaking all the Indian languages, while Morris was well versed in the French. To this escort a few other Indians were afterward added, and among them several Indian Chiefs. On the next day after their start the party arrived at the Rapids, about six leagues from the river's mouth. Captain Morris published a journal of his mission which is full of adventures of a very interesting character, and from which a few extracts will be given in the course of this paper ; one of the first of these adventures is thus detailed. "On approaching a village," says Morris, "I heard a yell, and found myself surrounded by Pontiac's army, consisting of six hundred savages, with tomahawks in their hands, who beat my horse and endeavored to separate me from my Indians, at the head of whom I had placed myself on our discovering the village. By their malicious smiles it was easy for me to discover their intention of putting me to death." They, however, did him no injury, and the next day Morris went into a grand Indian Council, and addressed the Chiefs. "At the conclusion of the Council," says Morris, Pontiac said to my Chief: "If you have made peace with the English we have no business to make war on them ; the war belts came from you." He afterward said to Godefroi : "I will lead the nations to war no more ; let them be at peace if they choose it, but I myself will never be a friend to the English ; I shall now become a wanderer in the woods, and if they come to seek me there, while I have an arrow left I will shoot at them." He made a speech to the Chiefs who wanted to put me to death which does him honor, and shows that he was acquainted with the laws of nations. "We must not," said he, "kill ambassadors. Do we not send them to the Flatheads, our greatest enemies, and they to us. Yet these are all treated with hospitality."

Five days after Morris set out on his mission he made this highly interesting statement in his journal : "An Indian called the Little Chief told Godefroi that he would send his son with me, and made me a present of a volume of Shakespeare's plays ; a singular gift from a savage."

Well might Captain Morris characterize the presentation of that literary gift, coming as it did from an Indian savage, as a strange one. Such it truly was when viewed in itself alone, but, in connection with its attendant circumstances and its various surroundings, it assumes the aspect of poetry and romance. Let us take a view of it. The parties to that presentation scene were an American Indian and an English military officer; the place of presentation was a wilderness—the Indian's domain; the time was the year 1764, being one hundred and eighteen years ago; the witnesses were groups of Indians, braves and squaws, in aboriginal costume, and an English officer's military escort; the era in our history was the close of the last French and Indian war; and finally, to make perfect this wild and most interesting scene, the Indian's gift was a volume of Shakespeare's plays.

It adds to the interest of the scene to be assumed that Captain Morris, the fit and fortunate recipient of that Shakespearean gift, was an interesting character. He was at that time quite a young man, and our colonial historian, Francis Parkman, speaks of him as an officer of literary taste, giving him credit for military enterprise and resolution under trying circumstances. The publications also of Captain Morris, running through a period of fifteen years or more, show him to have been a highly intelligent and cultivated gentleman, a classical scholar, an interesting writer, an observant traveller, a dramatic enthusiast, and an intelligent and devoted admirer of Shakespeare. All which qualifications justly entitled him to the place which he has received in Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors."

Here the question arises, when, where, and under what circumstances did the Indian, Little Chief, come into possession of that book presented to Captain Morris. Some foundation, at least, for an approach to a satisfactory answer to the question is presented in the fact that an English army, commanded by General Braddock, invaded our Western country beyond the Alleghanies in 1755, being defeated by the Indians of that region, and General Braddock being killed, was not that book of plays, then, an Indian trophy of that defeat? What strongly, if not conclusively, confirms the view of this matter, is the other fact stated by Captain Morris in his journal, that in the same vicinity where he received the copy of Shakespeare, he saw an Indian in possession of General Braddock's horse. Morris thus notices this fact in his journal, under the date of September 5th: "We met an Indian on a handsome horse which had been General Braddock's, and had been taken ten years before, when the General was killed on his march to Fort Du Quesne; afterwards called Fort Pitt, on the Ohio." Do not the two facts of the book of plays and the "handsome horse" being in the possession of Indians of the same Western region, at the same time, and in the particular

vicinity indicated, with the "Braddock" former ownership there ascribed to the horse, render it a reasonable conclusion that they were both trophies of Braddock's defeat? The statements of Morris in his journal are positive, and show, from their incidental character, that *he* fully relied on the accuracy of the information he had received, for he makes no suggestion of a doubt on the subject, and there seems not the least ground for the suspicion of any sinister purpose on his part in its relation. His journal bears date at Detroit, September 26, 1764. The original is preserved in the London Archives. It was published by Morris, together with several other productions, in book form, in London in 1791, being twenty-six years after the Indian gave him the book.

"On the seventh of September," says Morris in his journal, "we arrived at the meadow near the Miami's Fort pretty early in the day. We were met at the bottom of the meadow by almost the whole village, who had brought spears and tomahawks in order to dispatch me. Even little children had bows and arrows to shoot the Englishman who was come among them."

At this time the volume of Shakespeare probably saved Morris' life, for, unconscious of the excitement, and while his escort had landed and gone up into the village, Morris remained at the river out of harm's way, having pushed his canoe to the other side, where his attention was engrossed by reading the tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra in the volume given him by Little Chief.

Captain Morris experienced in this expedition, at the hands of these hostile Indians, an amount of abuse and indignities scarcely conceivable for their number, their variety, their indecency and their cruelty; and it is a wonder that he escaped with his life. The Indians, among other abuses, stripped, bound him; threw him roughly on the ground; kicked him; dragged him into the river as if to drown him; struck him with a gun; drove him about with his hands tied behind him; tied him by the neck to a post, and prepared to torture him. Two Indian warriors, with tomahawks in their hands, seized him by each arm, and led him away threatening to kill him. An Indian on horseback gave him a severe cut with a switch. He often despaired of his life, and was frequently obliged to conceal himself in order to escape. But for the extraordinary prudence and craft exercised by the faithful Godefroi, Morris would no doubt have been murdered. Being a Frenchman and speaking the Indian languages Godefroi had great influence with the savages. He also understood their character and knew when to humor them and divert their rage. Godefroi most fully performed his promise to General Bradstreet to "take care of the gentleman."

Many abuses and privations having been experienced, and his mission

having proved a failure, Morris, after an absence of about twenty days, determined to make his way to Detroit without further effort at pacification. Although then only about fifty leagues from that place, he was obliged, in order to avoid the Indian villages and roaming savages, and perhaps escape death at their hands, to strike out further into the woods, and make a circuitous route of eighty leagues ere he accomplished his purpose, which he did, with his escort in safety.

In making this journey Captain Morris' mind was not inactive, and he thus philosophized and contrasted more favorably to the French than to the English the treatment which the Indians had received from the two nations. "My thoughts," says Morris, "were taken up during this day's journey in admiring the fine policy of the French with respect to the Indian nations, of which, from among a thousand, I shall select two remarkable instances, which I mention as not only worthy of imitation, but to wear out of the minds of such of my countrymen as have good sense and humanity, the prejudices conceived against an innocent, much-abused and once happy people, who have as deep a sense of the justice and benevolence of the French, as of the wrongs and haughty treatment which they have received from their present masters. The first of these is the encouragement given by the French Court to marriages betwixt its subjects and Indian women, by which means Louis got admission into their Councils, and all their designs were known from their birth. Add to this, that the French so entirely won their affections by this step, that to this day the savages say that the French and they are one people. The next instance, is the prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors under pain of not receiving absolution; it is what the French call *cas reservé*: none but a Bishop can absolve a person guilty of it. This prevented many mischiefs too frequent among the unfortunate tribes of savages who are fallen to our lot. From drunkenness arise quarrels, murders, and what not; for there is nothing however shocking and abominable that the most innocent of that innocent people are not madly bent on when drunk. From imposing on the drunken Indian in trade, abusing his drunken wife, daughter, or other female relation, and other such scandalous practices, arise still greater evils. When such things are done (and they are done), can we wonder that the Indians seek revenge."

Morris's description of his escape to Detroit, shows his good taste and competency for observation, by thus noticing some of the beautiful, and to him, novel scenery presented by the western prairie country. "We came," says Morris, "into extensive meadows; and I was assured that those meadows continued for one hundred and fifty miles, being, in the winter, drowned lands and marshes. By the dryness of the season, they were now beautiful

pastures ; and here presented itself one of the most delightful prospects I ever beheld ; all the low grounds being meadow and without wood, and all the high grounds being covered with trees, and appearing like islands ; the whole scene seeming an illusion."

On his arrival at Detroit, Morris of course had much to say to his military friends about the rough usage and hardships which he had experienced in his mission among the Indians, but there is no doubt that he took the greatest pleasure in giving them the particulars about the copy of Shakespeare.

General Bradstreet's Indian expeditions were attended with success ; and full possession of Mackinaw and of the other military posts in the north-west were recovered by expeditions sent out by him from Detroit. Thus, says Parkman, "after an interval of more than a year, the flag of England was again displayed among the solitudes of the Northern wilderness."

I do not know how long Captain Morris remained in Detroit, but he was there the next year and wrote the following letter to Mrs. Van Schaack, illustrating somewhat the manners of the age :

"DETROIT, August the 29th, 1765.

"MADAM :—Why did Captain Morris delay writing to his best acquaintance in petticoats so long ? 'Tis a shame, thats certain, when considered seriously. But let us judge charitably ; the man perhaps was busy ; or sick ; or in love ; or lazy. To speak the truth, he has been all of them by turns. God help him ; he is a poor little mortal that is ever offending. Tho he has not much flesh, he has much frailty, and a very puny constitution ; and yet he must be in love forsooth. What girl in her senses would take him ? True ; but a man may flatter himself ; we are all our own flatterers. This is a strange world, Mrs. Van Schaack : I know you think so. I wish I were in some snug corner of this earth with a few *selects* ; a word of my own coining.

"I am going to a dance to-night. There is to be a ball on purpose for the strangers ; and yet Mr. Van goes off this afternoon. He does not care a fig for the finest woman in Detroit, because he has a much finer woman at home ; and for my part I have no heart to dance, as the girl who engrosses all my affections cannot be there.

"Mr. Van Schaack talked to me something about a letter from you ; but I have not got it. Upon recollection, I believe your ladyship is in my debt ; though I don't require to balance accounts with the fair sex with scrupulous exactness. Be assured, Madam, that I shall be extremely glad to hear from you ; as I am not only anxious for your welfare, but flattered by the notice you have taken of me. I often think of you, and sometimes give you for a toast among the Madames and the Mademoiselles.

"I am, Madam, your most obedient humble Serv^t,

"THOM^s MORRIS.

"MRS. JANE VAN SCHAACK."

In 1764, while General Bradstreet's expedition was in progress, and probably partially under its protection, Major Henry Van Schaack was in Western New York, *en route* to Detroit, on a business journey to that place, necessitated by the recent interruption of the fur trade, and by his unfin-

ished dealings with the merchants there previous to Pontiac's conspiracy. Western New York was at that time a wilderness. There was scarcely a white resident there except at the Forts. Indian supremacy did not cease until put down by Sullivan's expedition in 1779. As late as 1763, fifty armed soldiers with their officers, in guard of twenty-five loaded teams, were moving from Fort Niagara over the newly constructed postage road at Niagara Falls, when they were surprised by a body of Seneca Indians lying in ambush, and the whole party, with only two exceptions, were either massacred on the spot, or driven down the Devil's hole in the Niagara River, perishing there.

While in the Niagara region, Major Van Schaack wrote a letter to his brother, the late Peter Van Schaack, his junior by fourteen years, and then pursuing his studies in Kings College, New York. He introduced into it a passage from one of Shakespeare's plays, being the very excellent advice of Polonius to Laertes, his son, contained in the play of Hamlet, and which Shakespeare makes the father charge the son to "character in his memory." It reads thus :

"Give thy thoughts no tongue
Nor any unproportioned thought his act.
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel.
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment
Of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade. Beware
Of entrance to a quarrel : but being in,
Bear it that the opposer may beware of thee.
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice :
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.
Neither a borrower nor a lender be ;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.
This above all : to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou can'st not then be false to any man."

Thus we have here these two pleasing and singular coincidences, taking place in our Western wilds in the summer of 1764. While Major Henry Van Schaack was at Niagara, in the then wilderness of Western New York, on his way to Detroit, writing a letter to his young brother in the distant East, giving for that brother's instruction an admirable extract from one of Shakespeare's plays, Captain Morris, Mr. Van Schaack's personal friend, was, at the same time, in the remoter and wilder regions of the Illinois country, also on his way to Detroit, receiving at the hands of a savage, a

volume of Shakespeare's plays, and reading therein while seated at the foot of a waterfall.

Captain Morris returned to England with his regiment in 1768. He has left in print the record of a pleasing little incident, which occurred on the occasion of his embarkation at New York, strongly reminding him of his Indian experiences in the Illinois country four years before. While in the Western wilderness Morris saw a white man cutting wood, and was surprised to hear him speak English, as the Indians and French had before been the sole occupants of that wild country. "On questioning him," says Morris, "I found he was a prisoner; had been one of Lieutenant Holmes' garrison at Miami's Fort, which officer the Indians had murdered. They cut off his head and brought it to the fort, and afterward killed all the garrison except five or six, whom they reserved as victims to be sacrificed when they should lose a man in their wars with the English. They had all been killed except this one man, whom an old squaw had adopted as her son." To this interesting history Morris makes this addition: "When I lay aboard a transport in the harbor of New York, in order to return to Europe, Sir Henry Moore, then governor of that province, came to bid me adieu, and was rowed aboard among others by this very Indian captive, whom I had seen cutting wood in the western wilderness. The man immediately recollected me, and we felt, on seeing each other, what those only can feel who have been in the like situations."

Captain Morris was in the military service about twenty years. After his return to England he seems to have given his attention to literary pursuits, for Mr. Allibone informs us that between the years 1786 and 1802, Morris published, in London, six different works. Among them was an octavo volume, published in 1791, entitled "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse." This book, among other things, contains his "Journal of his Expedition Against and Captivity Among the Indians," from which I have given several extracts. It is remarkably well written, and excites one's admiration for its naturalness, its directness and clearness of statement, its good taste, its artless simplicity, and its rare interest. Among other compositions in the volume last referred to, is one entitled "A Letter to a Friend on the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre, and the Manner of Acting Tragedy." In this masterly criticism, as I think I may venture to characterize it, Captain Morris, in whose character and history I have become deeply interested, makes marked allusion, at the expiration of a quarter of a century, to the ecstasy originally excited, and then evidently still existing in his veins, caused by his Shakespearean experiences in the wilds of America in 1764. This dramatic enthusiast, after placing in the highest position of admiration

the stage-performances of the famous French tragedienne Madam Du Menil, thus closes his criticism: "If the world ever afforded me a pleasure equal to that of reading Shakespeare at the foot of a waterfall in an American desert, it was Du Menil's performance of tragedy."

HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK

From Fort Brewerton situate, at the west end of Oneida Lake, on May 4th, and from Fort Niagara, on July 22d, Captain Morris wrote these letters to Mrs. Van Schaack:

"FORT BREWERTON, May the 4th, 1764.

"MADAM:—I did not expect that I should have occasion to write to a *lady* for some time, except the lady who gave me birth; but I find myself under the agreeable necessity of sending a tender phrase or two to Mrs. Van Schaack.

"I have received two reproofs, of late, on your account; the one, grave and pathetic, the other, only implied in the bare relation of your displeasure at a neglect of mine.

"As I never knowingly *committed* any offence in the presence of Mrs. Van Schaack; I hope I shall meet with pardon for a sin of *omission* against the *fair absentee* whom I have sainted.

"The fear of being thought importunate was the reason of my not putting your name in my last letter to Mant, for, I assure you, you were in my mind at the time I concluded it.

"I am a singular man, and would run the risk of losing a *mistress* rather than be called a troublesome suitor; judge, then, whether I would tease a *friend*. I will now own to you that I am very glad it has happened; it is the greatest compliment you ever paid me. I construe your discontent a thousand ways, but every way flatters me. I fear I am a very vain little gentleman—I disdain the mediation that is offered me; I apply directly to you, madam, and am very proud of your condescending to take notice of my forgetting you.

"Now I have begun to talk to you, I don't know how to leave off; I can't quit you yet. Tell me who is she? What *kind* of young woman does Mrs. Van Schaack think would *suit me*? I sometimes divert myself with seeking out quaint resemblances amongst odd characters of different sexes, and putting them in pairs, but I never could find a female unaccountable to * * * * *

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"THOMAS MORRIS.

"Mrs. JANE VAN SCHAACK."

"CAMP AT NIAGARA, July the 22d, 1764.

"MADAM:—Once more a few lines to Mrs. Van Schaack; since once more she has honored me by employing her fair hand for my satisfaction and entertainment.

"As *your* letters, madam, yield *me* infinite pleasure, and as *mine*, at best, can afford *you* but little; if this correspondence should continue, what a debt should I have upon me! But mind how cleverly I could bring myself off; generous souls receive while they give; so, kind lady, we should be on equal terms.

"From you only I heard about the Dutch letter. Swearing is the vice (and not the only one) of the men in red. I am a great swearer myself; tho not when in company with the beautiful sex.

"You say, 'You should have had no objection to have been of the party at the bowl in the rock.' Your presence would have made the water nectar to me; for I swear (since swearing is fashionable) that I would rather drink of what gushes from a rock, with good sense in petticoats, than of the best Madeira, with the dull, tho clamorous, male things, which most military meetings are composed of. I am sorry to pay you a compliment at the expense of my own sex or profession, and I must assure

you in order to make some amends that the most virtuous and most agreeable characters (for the former does not necessarily include the latter) which I have met with, are to be found among those gentlemen who wear his majesty's livery.

"I am now to speak of the *fair incognita* to whose acquaintance I have been introduced unseen, or rather, on whose good nature I have been obtruded, by the swearing gentleman. Let her not be ashamed to tell me her wishes; but it would be needless; I can guess them. I should not say *them*, but *it*. There is but one wish for a virgin; *mutual love*; a valuable man, who may value her, because she is valuable, and values him. So much for the word *value*, and a spinster's wish.

"O the naughty and intruding company, that would not let you go on! However, you have added three lines, after signing your name relating to this same * * * * *

"Believe me, madam, your faithful friend, and most humble servant,

"THOMAS MORRIS."

LORD BALTIMORE'S COLONY OF AVALON

The following indicates the line of discussion in a paper by Professor Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University; but where is the proof that "the High Church party ever contemplated reunion with Rome?"

Contemporary with the Cape Ann plantation was Lord Baltimore's colony in Newfoundland, or Avalon. Both were economic experiments, outcroppings of the colonial enterprise of the period. Both were undertaken primarily for fishery, secondarily for agriculture. Both failed for the time being, but both succeeded by removal of the colony to a more favorable locality. At first, Massachusetts prospered more especially through fishing, Maryland, through planting. Both colonies were founded by English capital, furnished in the one case by an enterprising nobleman, in the other by a stock company of English capitalists and gentlemen. The two colonies started out with the idea of toleration as a matter of public policy. In Maryland, Protestants and Catholics settled side by side, the former, however, predominating numerically from the very outset. In Massachusetts, Episcopalians and Puritans were at first sent out together, but the latter proved the stronger party. Both colonies were captured by Puritans in spite of the efforts of liberal stock-owners. Lord Baltimore had no thought of founding a Catholic asylum, and the Dorchester Company never dreamed of a Puritan refuge when they employed Episcopalians at Cape Ann. Lingard admits that the Catholics were not persecuted in England at this period. The contest lay between the Puritans and the High Church party, whose leading prelates seriously contemplated a reunion with Rome. Lord Baltimore favored Puritans, Churchmen, and Catholics alike. His motive was a naturally broad-minded Catholic spirit, combined with a natural desire to make his colony an economic success.

VERRAZANO PROVED TO BE THE FIRST EXPLORER OF THE ATLANTIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

Among the corsair squadrons, chiefly of French origin, that began to prey on Spanish homeward bound and treasure laden vessels early in the Sixteenth Century, there was one that was led by an able navigator, and a daring seaman, Giovanni da Verrazano, or Jean de Varasenne. A Florentine by birth, he had seen service in the Mediterranean naval combats with the Mahomedan, and may have been to India with the Portuguese. Fitted out by *armateurs* like Jean Ango of Dieppe, he would be put in command of four or five light, but well-armed vessels, and would then cruise off the southwestern coast of Spain for Spanish or Portuguese prizes. We have few documentary records of any of these captures, in any French archives, either municipal or national. Those of Dieppe were destroyed in the bombardment of that city in 1694, those of La Rochelle by Mazarin in 1628, and those of Brest and St. Malo have disappeared. Could the papers of the old *armateurs* have been preserved, they would furnish much to interest the historian, relating to early exploring voyages, commercial enterprises, and mercantile ventures, in the new seas opened to commerce.

Owing to the division of the coasts of France among four admiralties, there were no central marine archives. The present *Archives de la Marine* date from the next century only, in 1673. M. Margry, in his *Navigations Françaises*, p. 158, refers to this want of collected information. The reports presented to the lieutenants of the admiralties were not made compulsory until the year 1543. A document in which Verrazano's name appears as about to undertake a long voyage to the East Indies in 1526, but which was probably intended to plunder the Spanish fleets, is given by Margry, p. 194, from the Fontette manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, but not with minute accuracy. Jean de Varesam was a subscriber to the expedition in a sum equal to that of Jean Ango, the merchant prince of Dieppe, and was to be the chief pilot of the expedition. The corsairs were to make prizes "on the sea of the Moors or other enemies of the faith and of the King."

Before starting on this voyage he appointed his brother Jerosme de Varasenne his heir and attorney, by a paper, bearing his signature in Latin, Janus Verrazanus, and dated Friday, eleventh of May, 1526. We shall see

the bearing of this named brother and of his own peculiar sign manual presently.

By another paper he appointed Pierre Caunay master of one of his vessels called *La Barque de Fescamp*, of ninety tons, promising to pay him five hundred livres tournois on his return. This paper is not signed, but is witnessed by Jehan Desvaux and Robert Bouton. The last is dated Saturday, twelfth of May, 1526. Neither of them bears the name of the place where they were executed. They were found eleven years since in the Archives of the Parliament of Rouen by Mons. Gosselin, the greffier, and were first published by Mr. Henri Harrisse, in the *Revue Critique*, for January, 1876.

Verrazano had seen much service by sea before this time, but no mention of him as a corsair is made, except by Peter Martyr, Bernal Diaz and Viera, who call him Juan Florin or Florentin. These notices relate to his capture of Spanish or Portuguese treasure vessels. Martyr, from hearsay only, attributes to him the capture of a Portuguese vessel in July, 1524, but after 1523 he is not known to have made any cruise in Spanish waters until 1527, when two documents found in the Archives of Simancas, speak of his having been taken prisoner with others, and put to death on their way from Cadiz to the North. The dates of the capture and of the execution are not given. A translation of these two documents, found by the late Buckingham Smith, in Spain, is given by Mr. Murphy in 1875. From the movements of the Emperor it is inferred that the date of these ought to be October, 1526.

We have no certain account of the doings of Juan de Verrazano in the year 1524. Nevertheless, by a letter from the Portuguese Ambassador, in France, to his sovereign, dated from Poissy, April 23, 1523, given also by Mr. Murphy, we learn that "Joano Verrazano" was preparing to go "*on the discovery of Cathay*." We know, however, that during this season he captured three treasure laden vessels, two of them bearing a rich cargo from Mexico, and one from Hispaniola.

From a letter found in Florence, dated from Dieppe, July 4th, addressed to the King of France, it would seem that he had made a previous attempt to sail to the West, with four ships, but it is uncertain in what year this happened. This letter is preserved in the Strozzi collection, together with a cosmographical appendix, and these are signed Janus Verrazzanus, according to Professor Greene, who gives the texts of this manuscript in the *North American Review*, for October, 1837. The letter is accompanied by one of Fernando Carli, to his father, dated from Lyons, August 4, 1524. This last was first published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* in 1853.

The text of the first, or Verrazano letter, was first noticed by the historian Ramusio in or before 1553, and was printed in the third volume of his *Raccolta*, in 1556. The language of his version differs from the Strozzi version, though the sense is the same, and he speaks in his introductory *Discorso Sopra la Nova Francia*, of other letters in Florence from him, which had been lost or destroyed. This implies a belief in the genuineness of the letter he publishes. But two collateral proofs of it, not hitherto noticed, can here be cited. The first is that the Latinized form of his name, *Janus Verrazanus*, appears in the Document of Rouen of 1526, and in the letter of 1524. If this last letter were a fabrication, how could this have occurred?

Again, Carli says that his majesty (Francis the 1st), is expected to be in Lyons within three or four days, a fact which no one but a person resident there at the time would have stated, for the precise day of the King's arrival in Lyons is nowhere given. A party fabricating such a letter as the one of which he sends a copy would not have been apt to make such a statement.

Thus much for the genuineness of the letter published by Ramusio, of which there can be no reasonable doubt. Let us now examine another kind of documents which are contemporaneous and convincing.

Attention was drawn in 1852, by Mons. Thomassy, to a large parchment Mapamundi, preserved in the *Museo Borgiana* at the Collegio de Propaganda Fide, in Rome, undated, but on which appear the words *Hieronimus de Verrazano faciebat*, and a note along the coast of the present United States, which reads as follows: Verrazana sive gallia nova quale discopri | 5 anni sa giovanni da verrazano fiorentino | par ordine e Comandameto dal Crystianissimo | Re di Francia; or, Verrazana or New Gaul, which was discovered five years ago by Giovanni da Verrazano, the Florentine, by the order and command of the most Christian King of France. If the voyage was made in 1524, then the chart was made in 1529. It had been alluded to by the Cardinal Borgia in a letter to De Murr, in 1795, but attracted no further notice until Thomassy gave a short account of it in 1852.

We shall not attempt to criticise this map now, having done so in 1874 already, in a paper on Verrazano, read in 1871, before the American Geographical Society, and because the author of "Verrazano the Explorer" has exhaustively answered the doubts raised by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, in a volume published in 1875, affecting the genuineness of the letter of July 8, 1524, and the map in the Collegio, of which Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the above named society, had procured photographs from Rome.

We cannot now discuss the various objections to the letter, as beyond our present purpose, but shall only dwell on the remarkable geographical

confirmation of the originality of the map. Firstly, the author of the map, whose personality was questioned, turns out to be the brother of the navigator, and probably the *map maker* alluded to in the Caro letters. It was objected that in 1529 it was easy to copy Spanish maps of 1527, showing explorations along this coast made in 1525 by Estevan Gomez, who returned in November of that year. The fact that the coast lines on the two maps differed very widely was totally disregarded, but a forced agreement of the two *tracks* was presented, and it was assumed that Hieronimus had copied the supposed Hernando Colon map of 1527, or the Diego Ribero map of 1529. The appearance of a distinct representation of Block Island and of Cape Cod on the Verrazano map was ignored. The outline left by Gomez on the Spanish charts shows that he had not the least conception of our coast. A large estuary filled with islands and a coast running nearly East and West is all that he seems to get credit for, but in spite of this meagre survey we *must* believe that Verrazano copied him!'

At this period of the discussion a startling and unexpected discovery places the geographical priority of the Verrazano map at a date which precludes all speculation as to its originality.

A family bearing the surname of Maiollo had for three generations been map makers in Genoa. The first one known was Vesconte de Maiollo, from whose hand, between the years 1504 to 1549, fourteen maps are still preserved. Mons. Desimoni, of Genoa, who is deeply interested in these studies, had published a paper on the Cabots and two on Verrazano. Returning from the Geographical Congress recently held in Venice, he visited the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Here he looked over several nautical charts, and among them one by the Genoese Vesconte de Maiollo. The Prefetto, the Abbé Ceriani, drew his attention to the fact that the date of this last was 1527, and not 1587, as hitherto supposed. The figure 2 had been taken for an 8, but a comparison with a chart by the same draughtsman of 1524 satisfied them of its true date. Vesconte died about 1549, so there was no doubt about the date 1527, and a careful examination of its coast lines were made. Magellan's strait appeared on it, but all the western coast of South America was marked Terra Incognita. On the upper part of this no names appear in the Spanish chart of 1527, and but a few on the one of 1529. Above Florida is an isthmus similar to the one found on the map by Hieronimus da Verrazano, on those by Baptista Agnese, 1536, and by Münster of 1540 and 1545. The deep inlet found on maps after Cartier's voyage near Canada, is wanting. Yucatan is represented as an island, Temistitan appears and a *stretto dubitoso* below it. "A badia de Garay" appears near Florida.

From Florida to Cape Breton appear a series of names of French and Italian origin, but no Spanish ones. Many of them are the same, with slight differences, as those on the Verrazano map. *Luisa* is applied to the island and *refugio* to the port near it, deeply indented in the land, and with two islands and a rock in it, meant no doubt for Narragansett Bay.

De Costa counted over one hundred names from Florida to Labrador on the map in the Collegio de Propaganda Fide. Seventy-five of these are the result of Verrazano's voyage. Some corrections of these by the Signori Lurabroso and Fabiano are given by Desimoni in his *Studio secondo* of 1881. In his last *Studio* of 1882 he gives the names of Maiollo, Verrazano, Vlpus and Gastaldi in four parallel columns. The result shows that there was probably an original map older than the ones of 1527 and 1529, accounting for some variations of these two from each other.¹

We shall not go into a detailed analysis of these Italian names at present. Desimoni has done all that is needed in this respect. The main fact that results from the discovery of the Maiollo map is, that no Spanish map could have suggested its North American outlines from Florida to Newfoundland in 1527, that it was made from an original exploration in or about 1524, probably by Giovanni da Verrazano, at the order of the King of France, who is commemorated by the name *FRANCESCA* placed along the above named coast before Cartier's voyage of 1534.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

¹ For the map illustrating this point, and an article refuting the theory, see page 257, Vol. II., of the *MAGAZINE*.

² For the argument proving the existence of a map in England, that is, the one presented to Henry VIII., in addition to those of 1527 and 1529, see the *MAGAZINE* at pages 21 and 22 of Vol. III., where the question is discussed, and where it is shown that a map like that referred to by Hakluyt must have existed prior to 1529. The discovery of the Maiollo map makes this a great deal stronger, and renders trifling with the voyage of Verrazano indefensible. On this Hakluyt map Mr. Deane says, that if Hakluyt "is to be relied on, our first point would seem to be made probable; namely, that the map was not only given by Verrazano to the King, but that it was a map made by him, or on his authority. Secondly, that the map was intended as a memorial of Verrazano's visit to our coast, would seem to be made probable, if not historically certain, by the recent discovery of a map in Rome, made by Jerome Verrazano, a kinsman of the navigator." But, with the Maiollo map before us, how much clearer does this point appear.—ED.

ACADIA IN THE REVOLUTION

Before the treaty of 1763, which followed the fall of Quebec, the whole country east of the Penobscot River, in Maine, was held by France under the name "Acadia." This territory has since been divided into three distinct political states. Each of them was at one time or another the scene of the operations here briefly narrated, and the French term is therefore made use of as more conveniently indicating the scope of the action.

At the period of the Revolution that part of Acadia now known as New Brunswick contained, according to the best estimate, about one thousand inhabitants. The only points of settlement were the St. John's River, and the vicinity of Chignecto and Chepody bays; the first included in the county of Sunbury, and the latter in Westmoreland. Adjoining the latter, on the south, is the county of Cumberland, in Nova Scotia, unquestionably the most productive part of that province. Here stood the two rival forts, *Beau Sejour* (afterward Fort Cumberland) and Lawrence, separated from each other by the little stream of Missiquash. The former was built by the French in 1750, to defend the region against the invading English; the latter was built by the English soon after as a counterpoise to the French stronghold, receiving the name of the commander of the force, Major Lawrence. *Beau Sejour* has long been abandoned as a military station, while the walls of its younger rival have been levelled by the hand of time.

"So universal," says Kidder, "was the sympathy for the Americans in the county of Cumberland, that in the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry only five persons would take the oath of allegiance to the British government, and therefore their members were excluded from the House of Assembly. In Kings County, N. S., a large liberty pole was cut and made ready to be hoisted, when the arrival of a detachment of Rangers put a stop to the movement."

Halifax was at this time the only port of sufficient importance to be affected by the tea tax, and this as well as other Eastern cities had merchants and civil officers who uttered their protests against the measure, and opposed the importation of the article, thereby losing royal office and favor. A "tea-party" was called, but was prevented from meeting by a merchant who was invited, but who proved more subservient to the tyranny than expected. (Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 2, p. 522 *et seq.*) But the port was expected to become the chief military station of Great Britain in

America, and the government patronage was too powerful, so that the spirit of freedom was practically extinguished there before the war broke out.

In Cumberland County, however, as in the more western colonies, a regularly chosen Committee of Safety assumed the direction of military operations, and on November 13, 1776, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for aid in men, arms, and ammunition. The inhabitants of this county were principally Scotch-Irish families and their descendants, numbering one thousand one hundred and seventy-six. In consequence of this patriotic action a strong force was sent into the region, and many citizens were forced to fly, finding refuge chiefly in Massachusetts from the control of a cruel government.

One of these patriots was John Allan, a member of the Assembly; and it is to him more than any other that we owe the preservation to the Union of all of Maine east of the Penobscot. He was subjected to the pain of leaving his wife and children behind him in his flight, and in spite of his efforts to rescue them they remained for two years, some in imprisonment, others under espionage, and all in great distress.

Among the more fortunate refugees was Jonathan Eddy, who found a quiet home for his family in Massachusetts. He soon obtained from the authorities of that commonwealth a commission as colonel, with permission to make a military expedition against Fort Cumberland (*Beau Sejour*), in the expectation that the province would be delivered from British rule.

The military operations in the northeast began by the capture of the British armed schooner *Margaretta*, by a party from Machias, in June, 1775. This was the first vessel of the enemy captured in the Revolution. The *Margaretta* had come to Machias to convoy a cargo of lumber to Boston for the use of Gage's army. The people had recently erected a liberty pole, of which they were quite proud, but it was an offence to the master of the *Margaretta*, and he ordered that it should be taken down, on penalty of a bombardment of the little village. A town meeting was at once called, to meet on Saturday, when the people voted not to take it down. Some influential persons persuaded the irate captain to wait for another meeting, to be held on Monday.

On Sunday, while on shore, the captain himself narrowly escaped capture, and the next morning his convoy, manned by the young men of the place, pursued the schooner out to sea, and after a short but brisk engagement took her with all her armament and supplies unharmed. She was manned by forty men all told, and her armament consisted of ten six-pounders, twenty swivels and two wall-guns, though not all were mounted; she was also supplied with an abundance of small arms, ammunition, and pro-

visions. The crew of the lumber sloop consisted of about thirty men and boys, only twenty of whom had muskets, the rest being armed with pitchforks and axes; their only cannon was a wall-piece.

The victors received the thanks of the Massachusetts Congress, and two of the leaders were at once commissioned to cruise against the enemy. A portion of the armament of the prize was transferred to the wood-sloop, which was now named *The Liberty*, and she at once proceeded to cruise under the command of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien. It was reported that the British schooner *Diligent* with a tender was on the coast making surveys, and a few days later O'Brien, in *The Liberty*, and Foster, the other commissioned officer, in the wood-sloop, encountered the vessels they were in search of. Stephen Smith, a bold fisherman, with a few other men in a boat, had already surprised the captain of the *Diligent* while away from his vessel with but a small attendance, and captured them. The *Diligent* and her tender, therefore, fell an easy prey to the two Machias privateers.

The next incident in this quarter was the attack upon old Fort Frederick, at St. Johns, by Smith, in a sloop manned by Machias men. The fort and barracks were burned, and a brig laden with provisions for General Gage was captured.

The encouragement that these successes gave to the patriot cause in this region enabled Colonel Eddy to obtain men for his ambitious undertaking. At Machias he secured the services of Captain West and about twenty others, with whom, in September, 1776, he proceeded to Passamaquoddy Bay, where he was joined by a few more. From thence he continued to St. Johns, ascending to Maugerville, the chief settlement, some sixty miles up the river. The earliest English settlement on the St. Johns was at Maugerville, which was colonized from Essex, Massachusetts, in 1762. "The party amounted to near twenty men, besides two families that took passage from Newburyport, May 16, 1762, to St. John's River" (Chubb's "Sketches of New Brunswick," p. 101). At this time the number of families in this place was about one hundred, and all were earnestly devoted to the American cause.

On the 14th of May, 1776, the citizens of St. Johns had assembled in the meeting-house at Maugerville and chosen a committee "to make immediate application to the Congress, or General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, for relief under their present distressed circumstances." At the same meeting a series of resolutions as positive and extended as those of any New England town, were framed and adopted; and then the whole assembly subscribed to them. These resolutions formed a complete declaration of independence. In memoranda accompanying the official copy of

the resolutions, it is stated that "one hundred and twenty-five have signed, and that twelve or thirteen have not, nine of these being at the mouth of the river."

There joined Eddy's party here, one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five privates of the English, and sixteen Indians. His whole force now amounted to seventy-two men. Early in October they set off for Cumberland in whale-boats and canoes, arriving at Chepody Bay in a few days without having met with any adverse circumstances. Here they captured a lieutenant and thirteen men, who had been stationed on Chepody Hill to give intelligence of the approach of patriot forces and privateers. Proceeding to Merancook, they were joined by a number of French. A march of twelve miles through the woods brought the company to Sackville, where it was met by the Cumberland Committee of Safety, who freely expressed their uneasiness at the smallness of the force and its lack of artillery and supplies; yet in the hope of an early reinforcement from Maine, they unanimously joined in forwarding the campaign.

A scouting party having reported a sloop of the enemy to be lying aground on the flats below the fort, a party of about thirty was despatched to capture her. After a difficult march, they arrived opposite the sloop, and charged across the flats toward the vessel. The mud was so soft that they sank nearly to their knees at every step, and the unmistakable noise aroused the sentry, who at once alarmed the sergeant of the guard, though thick fog hid them from view. There were fifteen or more men on board, completely armed, and had a gun been fired, it would in a few minutes have brought the garrison from the fort down upon the adventurous besiegers. On coming upon deck, the sergeant ordered his men to fire, but they were told by the leader of the Americans, who overheard the order, that if they fired a single gun every man of them should be put to death. This so frightened the poor fellows that they surrendered without any further effort for defence. As the retreating tide had left the vessel resting on the mud, her sides were so high that the captors could not board without the assistance of the conquered guard, who let down ropes for them to climb up by.

At daybreak the remainder of the force arrived, in a schooner and their whale-boats. Their presence was still concealed by the fog, and as soon as the tide had risen so as to float their boats, one party after another of soldiers from the fort came out to the sloop, probably to convey her cargo on shore, for she proved to be heavily loaded with provisions; as fast as the boat crews came on board they were made prisoners and quietly secured below.

The sloop at length began to float, and the fog breaking, the strange craft were discovered by the garrison. Perceiving that the sloop was get-

ting under way, instead of unloading, it dawned upon their astonished minds that she had been "cut out." The guns of the fort soon opened upon her, while a detachment of some sixty men marched down the river to attack the little squadron. But the vessels had a fair wind, and were already at such distance that the fire upon them from the fort effected no damage; and turning toward Fort Lawrence, on the opposite shore, they were beyond the reach of the muskets. Colonel Eddy here landed a portion of the stores in order to lighten the vessels for offensive operations. Leaving a sufficient guard at the fort, the main portion of the force recrossed to the Cumberland side of the river, and formed a camp about a mile below the fort.

In a few days they were joined by a sufficient number of the inhabitants to swell the force to about one hundred and eighty men. After detailing the necessary guards for the outposts, there remained some eighty men available for an attack upon the fort. A summons to surrender was sent to the commanding officer, but it was met by a prompt refusal. It was therefore decided to make an assault.

The fort embraced about an acre of ground. "Its intrenchment was fifty feet in width; the slope, twenty-five feet; and the embankment within, eighty feet in height, and the breadth on the top, four feet" (Williamson's "History of Maine," vol. ii., p. 452). On the outside were pickets, while along the declivity outside of them, piles of heavy logs were fixed, ready at a touch to roll down upon assailants with overwhelming violence.

The night of the 12th of November proving cloudy and favorable to a secret movement, Colonel Eddy ordered an attack. The approach was made in three divisions, one of which attempted to ascend the bank by ladders, while the other two made a diversion at other points. But the garrison was on the alert, and the attack was repulsed at all points. Colonel Eddy, in a letter written after his return, says that there were about one hundred men in the fort. Murdoch (see his "History of Nova Scotia," p. 577 *et seq.*) says that the fort at Cumberland was at this time "garrisoned by Lieutenant-Colonel Gorham and his Fencibles, two hundred and sixty in number. Of these the rebels surprised and made prisoners of forty privates and some non-commissioned officers from the outposts." The patriots, however, maintained their position before the enemy, and totally cut off his communications, feeling sure of taking the fort on the arrival of the expected reinforcements.

On the 25th of November there arrived in the bay a man-of-war from Halifax; and on the following day she landed nearly two hundred marines. Though observing this reinforcement, Colonel Eddy remained in his camp until the night of the 30th, when he was surprised and driven into the woods.

The stores having been captured or destroyed, the Committee of Safety advised a retreat to St. John, which was accordingly made, and Eddy's force wintered on that river.

But the reduction of Fort Cumberland and the rescue of the region from Great Britain was not yet given up. The patriot force continued to be augmented by refugees from Cumberland, while the man-of-war had returned to Halifax, leaving only some three hundred men at the fort; and in the spring Colonel Eddy importuned the General Court for supplies and a reinforcement of two hundred men, with which he professed the ability to reduce the garrison by investment. A treaty had also been made with the Indians on the St. John's, and in the course of the season it was extended to the Micmacs, in Nova Scotia, and the Quoddies, in Maine. By the excellent management of Colonel John Allan (who also had effected these treaties) the tribes were retained in a neutral relation throughout the war, though the British made great efforts to draw them into their service. The Penobscot, Quoddy, and St. John's Indians, with whom Allan had made a defensive alliance, allowed some of their warriors to enlist in the white companies in the Federal service. In this employ they rendered valuable aid, at least on the occasion of the British attack on Machias, in August of this year (1777).

Before spring, however, Colonel Eddy's force seems to have been wholly scattered, and the entire command in this department had been transferred to Colonel Allan. In February, Allan was endeavoring, by authority of the Massachusetts Council, to effect an exchange of prisoners with Colonel Gorham, the British commander at Cumberland. On May 16, 1777, Colonel Allan writes from Machias, "received advices that the ship *Vulture*, of fourteen guns, was at St. John, lying before the old fort; that the armed sloop *Gage* had gone to Cumberland to bring troops to enable the garrison to pursue up the river." The *Vulture* was the vessel which afterward bore such a prominent part in the treason of Arnold.

In consequence of this information, Colonel Allan, on the 30th of May, set out from Machias in boats for St. John. Intelligence reached him on the way that the British vessels had departed, but he continued his course, and, after a brief delay at Passamaquoddy, arrived in safety on the river on the 2d of June. Leaving a captain and lieutenant with twelve men to guard the falls and annoy the enemy, should any come to repair the fort, Colonel Allan proceeded up the river.

Numerous halts were made on the way to cultivate friendly relations with the parties of Indians who were frequently met. The principal settlement of these was at Aukpaque, situated on the north side of the river, about seven

miles above Fredericton. On Jeffrey's map the name is spelled "Ock-pack." The word indicates a beautiful expansion of the river. There are here numerous islands. Upon the largest of these (Sandous) the Indian fortifications and buildings were situated. A small stream enters the St. John at this point.

On landing, Colonel Allan's party was received by the Indians with a salute of musketry. After a satisfactory conference and needful rest, the force returned to the mouth of the river. Here they made prisoners of two traders who were suspected of having procured the visits of the British vessels. Many of the inhabitants had been pillaged by these enemies, and most of them forced to take the oath of allegiance to the king. As they had by this action gone on record as sworn subjects of the king, and were dejected and fluctuating, Colonel Allan forbore to enter any of their houses or to encamp near them, lest he should compromise them with the royal government.

On the 8th of June intelligence was received by Allan of the capture by West, near the mouth of the river, of a schooner from Halifax, with a valuable cargo, which he sent to Machias for safety. On the tenth, Colonel Shaw, with forty-five men from Machias, arrived at the mouth of the river. On the eleventh, the sloop of war Vulture again came into the harbor, accompanied by a smaller sloop, carrying supplies. The intrepid West boarded the supply vessel and would have overcome her, but such numbers appeared setting out from the ship that he thought best to give up the attempt. Yet the British were quite intimidated by this action, and left the harbor the next day.

On the 24th of June Colonel Allan writes urgently for three or four hundred men to defend the river and to rescue the oppressed people of Cumberland. A few days later there arrived in the harbor a squadron of the enemy, consisting of the ship Mermaid, of thirty-six guns, and the sloops Vulture and Hope, with their tenders, detached from Sir George Collier's fleet to operate with the force at Cumberland against the patriots in that region, and on the St. John.

Early in the morning of the 30th of June, the guard stationed on the "Reach," a short distance above Grand Bay, saw a barge coming up from the mouth of the river, and shortly after they discovered seven others lying on their oars about a mile distant. Information was immediately sent to the main body of the American force, which at once retired up the river, leaving Captain Dyer with a dozen men to observe the movements of the enemy. The company in boats soon landed, to the number of about one hundred and fifty. Captain Dyer allowed them to come within good mus-

ket shot, then fired and retreated. On the retreat they fell in with the flank guard, who fired upon them at ten or twelve yards distance, killing three and wounding two more. Captain Dyer immediately retreated up the river, taking with him his wounded men. The British loss in this skirmish was six killed and wounded.

The two British ships from New York, the *Mermaid* and the *Ambuscade* (32 guns), with a third vessel, were ordered to cruise between Machias Harbor and Mount Desert, to intercept the Americans on their way eastward. Troops to the number of three hundred now set off up the river in pursuit of the patriots, with special orders to capture Colonel Allan, for whom, dead or alive, a reward of four hundred dollars was offered.

Allan was at this time at Mauderville with the Indians, and he at once removed with them further up the river. Between him and the British force was a part of two companies under Captains Dyer and West, and on the 3d of July Colonel Allan gave these the permission, which they had asked, to retire to Maine by way of Passamaquoddy. They were closely followed in this retreat by the main body of the enemy; but from this time we hear no more of them in New Brunswick.

The British force now turned up the river, searching at every point for refugees from Cumberland, and for Colonel Allan. Wherever they could learn of an inhabitant who had furnished food or shelter to the Americans, they seized his goods and burned his buildings. The Cumberland people, finding that there would be no safety for them on the St. John, a few days later, guided by the Indians and the friendly Acadians resident upon the river, retired by the way of the Schoodic lakes to the coast of Maine.

Colonel Allan now kept closely to the Indians, in order to secure their continued adhesion to the American cause, and leaving Aukpaque, they retired to the French settlements a few miles farther up the river. The latter people were those Acadians who, in 1755, fled from their homes about the Basin of Minas in order to escape transportation by victorious Britain. They were ever found friendly to the American cause; and they were now ready and desirous of aiding Colonel Allan to the extent of their means, though at the risk of their own safety.

The British superintendent of Indians in Acadia, amply supplied with the means usually required to secure their attachment, was assiduous in his efforts to gain them over, offering pardon for past offences and security from all harm to such as would abandon their connection with the patriots. A document long in the hands of the High Sheriff of St. John County, N. B., is an invoice of supplies sent the Indian agent at a certain date. It has a list of seventeen different kinds of articles suitable to savage wants, and in

large quantities. He also had the aid of a Romish priest, whose influence was very great with those rude yet reverential children of the forest; but though the Indians availed themselves of the priest's professional services, they would not yield to his solicitations to unite themselves to the British cause. The Micmacs, in Nova Scotia, even were only partially won over, while all the favor the enemy obtained from the other tribes was their neutrality, and protection to the British crews while engaged in cutting masts on the streams emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay.

On the patriot side, Colonel Allan, at all times almost empty-handed, made hazardous journeys to their settlements or to other localities appointed for conferences with the Marachites, on the eastern shore of New Brunswick, and the Micmacs of Nova Scotia. On account of the non-arrival of promised supplies he many times found it necessary to leave his two boys, aged respectively eleven and thirteen years, as hostages with one or the other of the eastern tribes for months together.

It was chiefly by their personal regard for him that Allan was able to hold these tribes so long and against such odds. An incident or two will illustrate their devotion to him. The British were very bitter against him, and for years a price was set upon his head. The soldiers and even civilians sought, at every opportunity, to take him, dead or alive. As might be supposed, all dissatisfied Indians were incited against him, by whom his life was attempted repeatedly. One day, while sitting at the table in his room busy with some papers, an Indian acquaintance of the family entered. A few words were exchanged, and while the other members of the family were conversing with the colonel, the Indian, instead of going out, slipped unnoticed behind the wide open door. Presently another Indian—a powerful savage of the Micmac tribe—strode into the room, and directly up to Colonel Allan, who was seated in such a way that he could not readily rise.

The Indian drew his long hunting knife, and brandished it in the air, the blow probably delayed a little by the steady eye of Allan fixed upon him. Before the blow could fall the hidden Indian sprang forward and felled the intended assassin to the floor. The treatment of the offender was very merciful. By Allan's direction he was simply deprived of his weapons, placed in his own canoe, and started toward home.

At another time, when Colonel Allan was confined to his room with the gout, some members of the tribe he was with learned of a plan of the British to capture him while in this condition, and they at once wrapped him up in blankets and carried him to a remote place in the woods.

But it was not the Indians alone who were attached to him. The captain of an English merchant vessel one day sent a polite note, inviting him

to dinner on board his vessel, in remembrance of former times. This incident appears to have occurred on the St. Croix River, where the Indians had guaranteed a certain degree of protection to British vessels. Colonel Allan was pleased with the captain's courtesy, and was about setting out, when Captain Dyer, who suspected treachery, begged that he might go instead of his superior. The Colonel refused at first, but finally consented. Dyer proceeded to the vessel, and no sooner was he on deck than the perfidious captain cried in exultation, "Now, thank God, I have got you, you —— rebel!"

"No, you haven't got him," replied the brave Dyer; "you've only got me."

The enraged Englishman took Captain Dyer to Halifax, where this generous and devoted friend remained a prisoner of war until his death.

At length the St. John's tribe, his chief lever for influencing the more eastern, were so closely pressed on one side by the military power of the British, and on the other by the tempting gifts and stores of Mr. Franklin, their agent, that Allan decided to retire with them to Maine. Accordingly the whole body of the St. John's tribe, says Allan, "to the number of 128 canoes, containing near 500 men, women and children, left the river with me, . . . only a few families remaining to keep up a claim and give intelligence, when there was not more than a week's provisions for the whole. They left their little plantations well improved (and a good prospect) with a great part of their clothing, and after 28 days' journey, arrived at Machias, suffering many hardships and difficulties by the excessive heat and the lowness of the streams, which greatly obstructed the canoes." This journey was made in July and August, 1777.

From this time until the close of the war Colonel Allan and his wild wards remained mostly at Machias and St. Andrew's Point (the latter near the head of Passamaquoddy Bay) small parties of the Indians frequently making trips eastward, to keep up a friendly association with the other tribes.

This narrative, evolved chiefly from the mass of documents found in Mr. Kidder's valuable collection, gives, I think, a fair and perhaps a sufficiently complete view of the Revolutionary struggle in our neighboring provinces in the northeast. Our relations with the inhabitants of the Acadian region, during the century just closing, have been very intimate, and it is to be doubted whether there has been for a considerable time other than friendly feelings between the masses of the people in our contiguous territories, who came so near being of the same nation. If some portion of the citizens of each have at times been inflamed against those in the other, it must be attributed to the conflicting interests of the two great empires to which we respectively belong, rather than to any civil incompatibility or personal dislike.

GEORGE J. VARNEY

TOPICS IN BRIEF

DE KALB, GATES, AND THE CAMDEN CAMPAIGN.

The publication of the correspondence and orders of General Gates, bearing upon the battle of Camden, and the vigorous defence of that officer by Mr. Stevens; which appeared in the October Number of the *MAGAZINE* for 1780, invite a restudy of that disastrous campaign. A fresh fact is brought out in a letter from Lord Rawdon, published in the Third Report of the British Historical Manuscript Commission, which revives the point whether Gates did not make a mistake in declining to attack the British at Little Lynch's Creek, on or about August 10th. Rawdon, then in command, had taken post on the southern bank of the stream, and was known to have a force inferior in numbers to that of the Americans. His position, on the other hand, was naturally strong. Tarleton, in his account of the campaign, claims that Gates ought immediately to have moved up the creek, crossed it above, marched directly to Camden, and compelled Rawdon to meet him at a disadvantage, or abandon the place. Bancroft says on this point: "By a forced march up the stream Gates could have turned Rawdon's flank and made an easy conquest of Camden." Johnson, in his life of Greene, takes substantially the same view. In Rawdon's letter referred to, we now have the statement that De Kalb did actually urge an attack upon the enemy at the creek. The communication is from the English general to his mother, the Countess of Moira, and the material part, explaining also why he declined to fight Gates before Cornwallis arrived, runs as follows:

"CAMP NEAR TWELVE MILE CREEK,

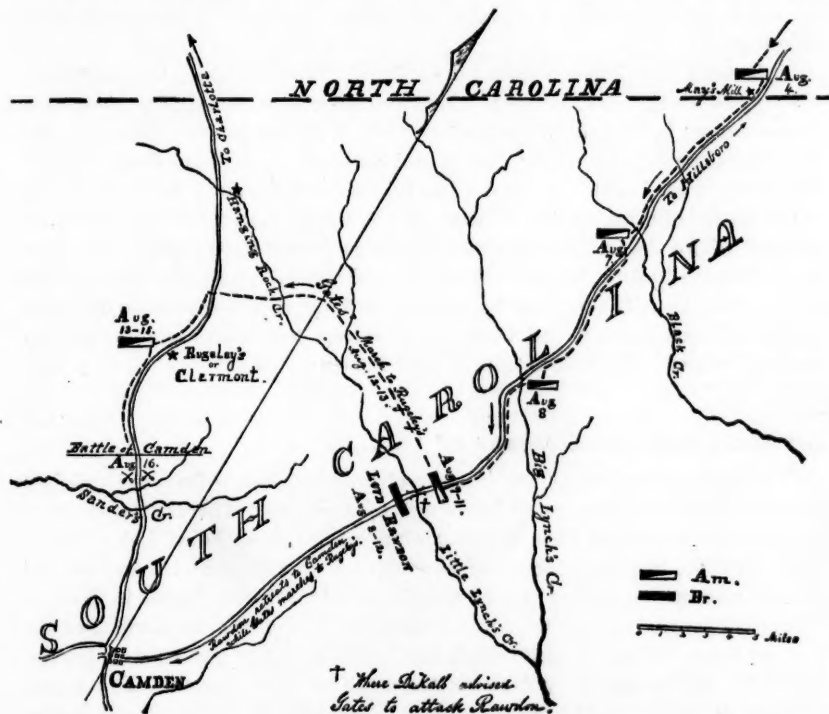
"ON THE FRONTIER OF NORTH CAROLINA, Sept. 19, 1780.

"... Had I thought the tinsel of unweighed applause an object superior to the consciousness of having acted right, I should have given Mr. Gates battle whilst the command remained with me. It was in my power; I had fair prospect of success; the reputation to be attained was great; and if I was beaten there would have been credit in making a bold attempt, for the failure of which the disparity of force would have been a sufficient apology. But I felt that the step would be false; for, by maintaining the conduct which I pursued, I was certain of forcing the enemy either to retire across the Pedee, to attack me upon terms almost hopeless for them, or to take the ruinous part which they actually did embrace.

"De Kalb, who was a good officer, saw so clearly the consequences of reducing their attacks to one point, and thereby enabling me to unite my detachments, that he strenuously advised Gates to pass Lynch's Creek and fight me, at all events: this was related to me by De Kalb's aid-de-camp (a relation of the M. de la Fayette), who was made prisoner. Gates rejected the advice, threw himself

across the country into the other road above Hanging Rock Creek, and gave us three days to prepare to meet him, in a country likewise very favorable for us.

"Since that action the sickness of the troops, added to want of provisions and almost every kind of stores has detained us inactive. . We are now in march towards Hillsborough, where Gates has collected a small body of militia. At present there is no prospect of serious opposition, but I cannot believe that the Congress will not make an effort to stop the advance of our successes. We have reason to hope that we shall be joined by the greater part of the North Carolinians, who have certainly given strong proofs of faithful attachment to us. . . . It is now ten weeks since we have



heard from New York. . . . You must have been astonished at our warfare here after the representations which we perceive were made to you respecting the loyalty and peaceable state of His Majesty's Province of South Carolina."

The aide who gave the information Rawdon refers to was Chevalier Du-buysson, holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the same who is commonly represented as preventing his general from being put to death on the field at Camden. Whether De Kalb meant that Gates should attack Rawdon directly in front or cross at a more favorable point and fight him

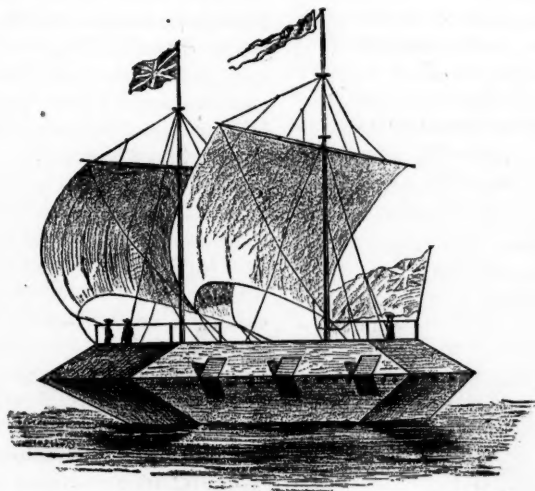
as soon as possible, is not distinctly stated, but it is worth noticing that he did in effect propose what Tarleton, who was on the spot, was of opinion should be done, and what Rawdon himself impliedly admits to have been excellent advice. The point with De Kalb evidently was: Push the enemy and prevent the concentration of his forces. Friends of Gates will defend the course he took in marching around by way of Rugeley's Mills, by showing that the delay brought him a large reinforcement of Virginia Militia; but did it not also work in equal if not greater proportion to the enemy's advantage?

It is not to be inferred from his advice at Lynch's Creek, that De Kalb was aggressive in this campaign. No one can read Colonel Horry's quaint reminiscences in his *Life of Marion*, without observing how anxiously he deprecated Gates' extraordinary haste and rashness in pushing down toward the enemy from North Carolina. Horry, who acted as aide to De Kalb up to the battle of Camden, states that on the weary march through the pine barrens, where "a forlorn hope of caterpillars" must have starved, the general "frequently foretold the ruin that would ensue." At Lynch's Creek he saw a possible advantage to be gained, and urged it; otherwise he constantly advised caution and better preparation, but Gates would take no counsel, unless in the last extremity, but his own. J.

A LAKE CHAMPLAIN GUNBOAT OF 1760.

The specimen of naval architecture reproduced below from the original in the Library of Congress, at Washington, is unique. The craft appears in a picture of the British lines and encampment at Crown Point, Lake Champlain, in 1760, but the absence of any legend or reference leaves her description an open matter. From certain allusions to be found in Knox's *Historical Journal* of that war, it is probable that she was the largest of the two or three sailing vessels which the English hastily constructed on the lake and with which they "swept the seas" of the French. The Commodore of the little fleet was Captain Joshua Loring, of the Royal Navy, and this quite likely did the honors of "flag-ship" for him. If so, it was a hulk of his own make, built at Ticonderoga during the months of August and September, 1759, just after the capture of that fortress by General Amherst. From Ticonderoga the British moved up to seize and fortify Crown Point, while Loring remained behind to build a "brigantine," which, with a sloop, was to constitute his movable naval force to operate against the French, who held the lower end of the lake with three sloops and one schooner. By October 10th, says Knox, the brigantine was completed, car-

rying the respectable armament of six six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty swivels, and manned by seventy seamen and sixty soldiers. She was doubtless formidable; that she was a novelty in construction it needs no nautical eye to distinguish. Curtailing her ample sails and one might take her for a modern iron-clad. The sloop which formed the other wing of Loring's squadron was commanded by Lieutenant James Grant, of Montgomery's Highlanders. On October 12th the French vessels were sighted, chased and driven ashore, and Loring and Grant returned with enduring laurels. Whatever craft the illustration may represent, it is certain that if rough hewn and odd in shape and rig, she still rode proudly victorious, the Queen of the Lake. It might be added that, in 1758, Loring, in company with Colonel Bagley, built the sloop Earl of Halifax, on Lake George. This vessel was one hundred tons burthen, and mounted fourteen guns.



ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SOME COLONIAL LETTERS.

I. BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT AND THE INDIAN QUESTION.

[Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort.]

CARLISLE 25th Novemb'r 1757.

DEAR SIR.

In consequence of the Proprietarys, and Mr Hamiltons requests, I send you the most exact accounts of the Kill'd and captivated, together with the Deserted Farms or Plantations within this County since the Defeat of Genl Braddock, that is in my power to Collect. this much may be depended upon that I'm rather below than above the true number in every thing here mentioned. It is said that Mr Smith Merch't in Water Street Philadelphia has Kept a perfect Journal of the Kill'd and taken within the Sundry Colonys as related in the Publick News, but I'm persuaded the Papers themselves fall short of the exact number

	Killed	Prisoners made
Of the Inhabitants	126	131
Provincial Troops of the Second Battalion,	44	36
	170	167
Officers of Do. Lieutenants Armstrong Hoge and Halliday—Ensign Scot	4	
Plantations deserted, north of the Kittatinny Moun- tains	374	
Do. in the Old settled Val- ley situate betwixt the North and South Moun- tains	554	

Both within the bounds of Cumberland County.

A Number of the above mentioned Familys yet remain at Forts and with their Friends within the County, tho they have left their respective habitations, but of such I suppose not above two hundred at most.

The Woods and herbage so much favouring the Secret and Sculking manner which the Indians generally make their attacks, throws the person or Family attacked so much under the power of Pannick and Surprize, that the Enemy gains great advantage and but seldom meets with proper resistance, the surpriz'd party generally fleeing, not Knowing but that the Enemy are numerous, when perhaps they were but few; by these means together with theseperate Residences of the Inhabitants instead of that of Villages, it happens that such great numbers have fled and Evacuated the Country; but a cause still higher, is the frowns of Heaven upon us which is not considered by many.

As to making head against the French and Indians, an Offensive War must be Carry'd into their Settlements; and when Fort Duquesne is reduced (which can be but a tryfle to the conduct afterward necessary) if sundry Tribes of Indians now Our Enemies, do not immediately lay down the Hatchet in regard of us, and, as need requires, take it up against the French, then Should Sufficient partys well conducted be detach'd to their Several Towns Cutting and Burning all before them, and following the Enemy from place to place, so far as the Seasons and other Circumstances may admit, and if possible the French should be prevented of bringing any more Supply's to the In-

dians thro lake Erie, so that they must be oblidg'd to us for them, which might greatly tend to turn the Tables.

In case these measure have a good effect, a Strong English Settlement Should be made South West of Duquesne, Extending toward the Wabash. Such as the Scheme proposed by Mr Hazard or near that tenor as it will go best down with the Populace who shou'd be paid and oblidg'd to act as Soldiers for some time ; but as its not probable the Colonys will contribute anything to this scheme (except they are forced) so the expense for a few years would fall heavy upon the Crown. If I remember right the Traders have said that about the year fifty one the Twichwees made an overture of a Large Space of Land to the English in case of going there to live and assisting them against the French from whome they then apprehended some danger ; and were we masters of the Ohio and had drove off the French now there, the same proposal I think wou'd be made, or at least the Twitwees (whome it is said have the best claim) would sell a large space. I grant the Notion of Settling more New Lands when we can't Keep what we have may too justly appear Chimirical yet I'm of opinion we must either have a great deal more, or have none at all, and that in order to prevent the French who by a few years Possession wou'd Probably gain an entire influence over the Various Tribes of Indians, after which what Peace would they not break or what Barbarity would they not commit upon the Frontiers of this and the Neighbouring Governments ; and if this scheme or something equivalent does not soon take place I think there will be no living in Pennsylv-

vania, Maryland nor Virginia. All debaucherys and abuses among the Indians should be religiously avoided if ever we get footing among them again, and a Val-lainous Trader or Interpreter that for low ends would make himself necessary, deceive the World and Corrupt even the Savage herds as they have often done heretofore should not be admitted, but perhaps Hang'd up without Ceremony—if God work by those kind of people any good among the Indians I'm greatly mistaken—pious Missionarys, shou'd by those whose Province it is to Propagate the Christian R'n be sent among the Indians as soon as they can be suppos'd to be admitted, and the sword of the spirit used in turn with that of the flesh—every thing is right in its own Season and no man can tell, when pious endeavours may have the desir'd effect.

In the Front of these hints I should have mentioned a Union of the Colony's, with good Militia Laws, Obliging a proper Number at the instance of the King's Commanding Officer to March as far and stay as long as ever his Majestys and their own Interest requir'd ; the matter is now with us at Do, or Die. I beg the favour of you, if you shew any thing, to shew all I have wrote to the Gent^l mentioned in Yours, for if I have wrote foolishly it is done with great Simplicity and I have long thought—please to present my thanks and Sincere Services to the Propr^s and hearty good Wishes to Mr Hamilton, may God bless his Voiage for his own and the good of others

I am Sir your very Afectionate Humb^l Servt

JOHN ARMSTRONG

RICHARD PETERS, ESQ.

II. GENERAL BRADDOCK TO GOV. MORRIS, OF NEW JERSEY.

[Communicated by J. Esten Cooke.]

SIR, I receiv'd your two Letters by Express last Night and am greatly oblig'd to you and M^r Peters for the Steps you have taken towards laying in a Magazine of Provision for me, as also for the Supply you are Collecting of Forage.

I shall Signify to M^r Swain by the — of your Messenger my Approbation of the Deposites being made at McDowel's Mill instead of Shippensburg. I dispatch'd an Express to you yesterday with Bills upon England for £4000. Sterling sent me by Governor Glen; and upon Notice from you I will send the Draughts from the Deputy Paymaster upon M^r Franklin for such further Sums as you may have occasion for.

GOVERNOR MORRIS.

(Page 2) I have order'd a party of an Hundred Men as a Guard to the people working upon the new Road which will set out this Day.

I am much oblig'd to yourself and your little Government for the present of Oxen they have made me and am, Sir,

Your Most Humble &

Most Obedient Servant,

E. BRADDOCK

Camp 5 Miles from Fort Cumberland

June 11. 1755.

III. FROM GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

[Communicated by J. Esten Cooke.]

VIRG^A WILLIAMSBURG Sept^r 20th 1755

SIR I receiv'd Your Favo. of the 20th ult^o—I am really very sorry & surpriz'd at the unmannerly Message sent You by the Assembly; surely if Differ-

ences subsist between You & them, good Manners is due You as the Supreme Magistrate.

At same Time I am sorry Your Instructions prevented Your accepting of their Note for 50,000—With that Money & what we have rais'd here, wou'd have made a good Figure in prosecuting the Plan I wrote you the 29th of July; but as Your Assembly appear obstinate in not doing what is their Duty at this Period, I must leave off any Thoughts of it at this Time.

After the Defeat of our Forces, if Col^o Dunbar had entrench'd himself, built a Fort & sent in to the Governors for Reinforcements, he wou'd have prevented the French &c going to Niagara from the Ohio & at the same Time facilitating the operations of the next Campaign—Instead of this his great Inclination of going to Your City, he left our Frontiers expos'd to the Insults of the Enemy by Carrying with him the whole Regulars, the Six Pounders & Cochorns; If he had made another Attempt I doubt not of having reforc'd him with 1000 Men, who now must be employ'd all the Winter in protecting our Frontiers & to be in readiness for next Year.

I have not omitted writing to the Ministry the unaccountable Conduct of Your Assembly; the Dangers we are in from the German Roman Catholicks, & I have no doubt the next Sessions they will seriously consider of it make some Alteratⁿ in Your Constitution.

I much want to hear of Gen^l Shirley, I am under great Concern for him, as no doubt they have Collected all the Forces they cou'd to Niagara, as I hear most of their Men are gone from their Fort on

Ohio to that Place; pray write me the News from thence, & of Gen^l Johnson's success against Crown Point.

I wish You Health more ease & Satisfaction in Your Government than I conceive You now enjoy, & am with great Truth Sir

Your Most Obed^t hble Servant

ROB^t DINWIDDIE

P. S Pray give my Complim^{ts} to Cap^t Orme if with You. I have not heard from him since my Express ——— I give you the trouble of the enclos'd to Gen^l Shirley which I pray the Fav^r of You to forw^d by first opportunity—As I know not where to direct to him.

GOVERNOR MORRIS

IV. FROM GOVERNOR COLDEN, OF NEW YORK.

[Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort.]

SPRINGHILL Dec^r 15th 1765

DEAR SIR

I received your kind letter of the 9th & 15th of last month at a time I was so much engaged in publick business that it was not in my power to answer it & since I retired I was under a necessity of writing to the Ministry on the late transactions before I gave up the Government

You must believe I am very glad to be out of the way of the malice of wicked men I found Sir Henry was resolved to make himself easy. How far he will succeed, time must shew. He came away without any Instructions. The Kings order in his Privy Council of the 26th of July has renewed all the rage of the

Party against me as appeals from a verdict & Judgement are confirmed

Tho the Stamp Act was made use off to excite the mob yet the directing it against me arose from the resentment of the men who think their power is abridged by establishing Appeals. You can judge as well as I can what effects these seditious Transactions are like to produce in Great Britain. The Dependency or Independency of the Colonies seems now to be brought to the Crisis, & it remains with the Parliament to give it the Proper Issue, whether the Parliament of Great Britain shall submit to the Colonies or the Colonies to the Parliament.

The Assembly have before them M^r Harrison's protest as Notary Publick in the Case of Cuningham I cannot tell you what is don in it but I hear young Smith is intraged at some part of it. I cannot conceive what they intend to do by this examination Can they intend to repeal the Kings order in his privy Council & to authorise Disobedience to it.

Perhaps you may learn things from England which I know not I hope you will communicate what you think may be of use to me

General Burton I hear designs for England by way of New York perhaps you may have seen him as he passes & you may know his opinion of the present state of Affairs

Captⁿ Johnson's patent is passed I suppose M^r Banyar has it. The packet I hear is arived but I have nothing since from New York

I hope after this to be free from all business It will be a Deed of Charity to give me the pleasure of a frequent correspondence on such subjects as may be

most agreeable to your self & I shall
make all the return in the power of

Dear Sir

Your most affectionate

& faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bar^t

V. CAPTAIN GABRIEL BERNON TO GOV-
ERNOR DUDLEY, OF MASS.

[Communicated by Jeremiah Colburn.]

NEWPORT ON ROAD ISLAND

July 27th 1702.

SIR,

Following your Excellency's order I had my commission read at the head of my company ; I have assured our settlers that I do not look upon them as soldiers but as my friends, that I only took the commission that there might be a head to our plantation ; that I believe my self to be the person most interested and most attached to the plantation ; they seemed to be grateful to your Excellency for it.

I told them that a Palisade around my house was necessary for a garrison, these matters are postponed on account of the harvest ; I can assure your Excellency that I will manage the whole with advantage of the Place, and that it will inevitably result to the profit of your Excellency, my self and our people in general.

Colonel Romer left Saturday for York he believes that your Excellency has every desire to finish the Castle. he is sorry to have left Boston before the work was finished.

In case of danger, to New Oxford, the people of Providence are the proper people succor ; I have spoken to your Excellency of Cap^t Arnel and of Lieuten-

ant Wilkinson as the two persons the best behaved and the most generous that I have found in the Country. they are worthy of the esteem and friendship of all good people.

When I took leave of Madame your Excellency's lady, she told me to make inquiries about the horses for your Excellency, I have made the enquiries but I do not quite understand what kind your Excellency wishes. I believe M^{sr} Arnel of Cananicot the best person to select them properly and the best disposed for the service of your Excellency. I will entrust it to him ; I congratulate myself however on the happiness of subscribing myself with profound respect

Sir, Your Excellency's

Very humble, very affectionate
and very obedient Servant,

GABRIEL BERNON

[To Governor Dudley]

VI. FROM GOVERNOR SHIRLEY.

[Communicated by George M. Champney.]

CAMP AT OSWEGO, Sept^r 25th 1755

SIR

As it is possible that your Wound may render you unable to proceed in Person to Ticonderoga, in such case I should recommend it to you, to order Major General Lyman, who I apprehend hath escaped unhurt, or Col. Ruggles, in case General Lyman should be unable to go in Person, to march the Forces under your command to that Pass, & take possession of it, and secure it against the Enemy, leaving with you such a Number of Troops as you shall judge sufficient for strengthening the Works at the Carrying Place, and erect-

ing such at Lake George, as you shall think absolutely necessary.

If nothing farther could be done this Campaigne than gaining Teconderoge, yet that would be carrying a great point for the protection of the Country behind, this Year, & facilitate the Reduction of Fort S^t Frederick the next Spring

You will give me leave to press this matter again upon you, as what most nearly concerns his Majestic's Service, & the Interests of the Colonies; and must greatly redound to your own Honor and that of the army under your Command; and should be glad you would Consult your Field officers upon it.

I hope your Health will permit you to go upon this service in person, & earnestly wish your attempt may be Crown'd with all the Success you can desire, which I can't but think it will if you proceed, and am Sir

Your most Humble Servant

W. SHIRLEY

MAJOR GENERAL JOHNSON.

THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON TO
KING JAMES

[The following letter is referred to in Neill's "History of the Virginia Company of London" (p. 54), as a letter of Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. Sainsbury, in the Colonial Documents, 1516-1660 (p. 14), makes mention of it, and gives a paragraph from it in modern orthography, which is copied by Neill. We now print the letter entire, believing that it has never been given before. Though not written by Southampton, it is nevertheless of particular interest in connection with the Bermudas, for-

merly called the "Isle of Devils." It is couched in those obsequious and very flattering terms likely to be relished by the pedantic king.

There is a reference to the Dutch activity at the North, where, aided by the men of Biscay, who had pursued the whale fisheries on the Atlantic in pre-Columbian times. The expedition which is reported at Bermudas appears to be that of Richard Moore, who reached Bermuda July 11, 1613.

This island was discovered by the Spaniards not later than 1511. Though the English found it full of all sorts of sweet sounds, like the Island of Prospero, the Spaniards had given it a bad name. In his reference to the Prophet Jeremiah, the Earl mangles the Vulgate; what he quotes is found in the eighth chapter at the seventh verse, in our version, reading as follows: "The stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord."]

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I.
Vol. 70, No. 23.

[1612, Aug. 2?] *Hen. Earl of Northampton
to the King.*

Most excellent most gratiouse most redoubted and deer soueraine.

This flushe of threefolde aduertisementes meetinge me heer at Grenwich in my garden yesterday within the compasse of one hower did put me in minde of the roses the violettes and Jilly flowers which I vse to send to y^r M^{ty} from hence also in the hardest time of the year and made me the more willing *ratione ominis*

to binde them vp and present them in a posie to the faire handes of my swete souerain whose fragrant vertues performs [*sic*] all places that haue the happinesse and the iudgement withall to reioise in him and thanke god for him as they ought and are bownde to doo.

The first concerning the Archeduke came to me by M^r Cranfelde (y^r M^{ty} most industriouse and vncorruptedly deuoted seruant) from a factor one the other side, and shall need no other coment then the texte onlie I will note that Ruben et Madian *diuiduntur inter se* and that if the Archeduke speede no better with his beneuolence to the Jesuites he will soone be weary of that charity.

The nexte is that the Moscouian companie haue not only aduentured but strangely prosperid in their viage within 8 or 9 degrees of the pole for the whalle fishinge for theie sawe 700 at the leaste and by the helpe of the Biscaians whom theie hirid for their speciall in killinge those great monsters theie brought home 17 in the two shippes and might haue freightid more if their fleete had bene sutable They make accompte henceforward to mayntein it as a certain trade which they doutid of befor none but the Hollanders that will neuer sit out whear one graine is to be gotten and in this aduentur leaste, bycause they vaunte themselves to haue bene the first offerers.

Another companie are in like sorte aduertisid of the safe arriuall of their shippes in the Bermudos vpon which Iland the Spaniards affrightid and dismaied with the frequencie of Hurricanes which they ever meete about that place durst not aduentur but calle it *Dæmoniorum insulam* But from this Iland of

Deuilles our men haue sent some Amber and some seede perles for an assaie w^{ch} the Deuilles of the Bermudos loue not better to retaine then the Angeles of Castile doo to recouer. The place aboundes in swine in fowle and wishe [fish] which moues our men to growe more confident in the safe possessione of a place which they haue possessid so peaceably.

Theas prosperouse euentos both in those and in all other place whear y^r M^{ty} happie subiectes put in their foote makes me wonder at the cause whie your M^{ty} should not thriue as well aboute them by their thankfulnessse, as they vnder you by y^r prouidence But Jeremie fortolde what manie in our daies as it seemes are not verie apte to belene that *Milvus in celo cognouit tempus suum turtur hirundo et siconia custodierunt tempus aduentus sui populus autem tuus [meus] non cognouit indicium aduentus tui.*¹ &^c and therfor I make no doute but as your people growes more iudiciouse and gratefull so y^r M^{ty} estate will likewise growe more prosperous and plentifull

Thus prainge god to continewe and to multiplie his blessinges daily vpon your M^{ty} and youres that vnder the beste Kinge that we euer had we maie enioie the most happy time and that all theie that oppose ore repine maie speede as the Archduke hath don hitherto which will many Balames that come forth with a minde to curse fall as faste to blessinge when they come to the place whear the curse should light I humbly and affectionatly kisse your M^{ty} faire hande and

¹ The correct text runs as follows: *Milvus in celo cognouit tempus suum: turtur, et hirundo, et siconia custodierunt tempus aduentus sui: populus autem meus non cognouit iudicium Domini.*

prayinge for y^r preseruacion as for my
sowle liue and die

Y^r M^{tie} most affectionat humble and
loyall seruant and subiect till death
Sonday at xii. H. NORTHAMPTON

[Addressed:] To the Kinges sacred
and Royalle Maiesty. [Holograph.]

[Seal: The arms of Howard, Duke of
Norfolk, with the motto of the Order of
the Garter round the shield and sur-
mounted with an Earl's coronet.]

tombstones also bear witness. The original draft was destroyed by fire in the year 1800. It is also said that the Declaration was published in 1775, in the Cape Fear *Mercury*, a copy of which was sent with a despatch to the Home Government by Governor Martin, June 30, 1775. In 1863 Col. John H. Wheeler found the despatch of Governor Martin, in the British Archives, but could not find the newspaper, which, according to a pencil note, had been taken out by Andrew Stevenson, United States Minister at the court of St. James, and had never been returned; while Mr. Stevenson's son reports that he could not discover the missing journal among his father's papers. Such, in brief, is the account given in the *Charlotte Observer*; and, in answer, it has been suggested that the living witnesses referred to confounded the paper now under consideration with a paper issued May 31st of the same year. There does not, however, appear to be any necessity for doubt; though, in the interest of some pet notion, one may doubt almost anything. The people of Mecklenberg County do not entertain any doubt, and celebrate the Twentieth of May every year with great enthusiasm.

NOTES

THE MECKLENBERG DECLARATION—The 107th celebration of the Declaration of Independence at Mecklenberg, North Carolina, was enthusiastically observed May 20th, when the oration was delivered by Senator Bayard, of Delaware. It has always been a tradition, that on May 20th, 1775, the people of Mecklenberg, in advance of other portions of the country, drew up a declaration, a copy of which appears in the *Charlotte Observer*, of May 26th. The account states, that, on May 19th, a Convention assembled in Charlotte, and that, on the evening of that day news was received of the Battle of Lexington, which led to the action of the 20th, the declaration being supported by seven years of labor to make its words good. The authenticity of the Declaration was not doubted until 1819, in which year it was published in the *Worcester Spy*. John Adams believed it to be genuine, but Mr. Jefferson treated it as an "unjustifiable quiz." In 1825, however, there were, we are told, seventy-five living witnesses to the authenticity of the document. A number of ancient

THE CHARLESTOWN MAY-POLE—In his *Diary* (vol. iii.) under May 26, 1687, Sewall says: "It seems that the May-pole at Charlestown, was cut down last Week, and now a bigger is set up, and a Garland upon it. A soldier was buried last Wednesday, and a disturbance grew by reason of Joseph Phips standing with's hat on as the Parson was reading Service! 'Tis said Mr. Saml. Phips bid or encouraged the Watch to cut down the May-pole,

being a Select-Man. And what about his Brother and that, the Captain of the Fisher and he came to blows, and Phips is bound to answer next December, the Governour having sent for him before Him yesterday, May 26, 1687." Again, Sewall says, under date of Friday, May 27th: Father Walker told me "He overheard some discourse about the May-pole, and told what the maner was in England to dance about it with Musick, and that 'twas to be feared such practices would be here."

In the same connection, we find by Frothingham's "Charlestown" (p. 205), that, October 30, 1686, Increase Mather said: "It is an abominable shame that any persons in a land of such light and purity as New England has been, should have the face to speak or think of practicing so vile a piece of heathenism." On what ground Mather denounced the May-pole as a vile piece of heathenism we cannot say, yet it was a piece of heathenism, though not much the worse for that. Neither he nor the builders of the Bunker-hill Monument may have been aware of the fact, yet the May-pole dance originally formed a recognition of the reproductive forces of nature. This was the prime use of the obelisk among the Egyptians. Descendants of the men who hated the May-pole have thus set up as their proudest symbol the obelisk of which the May-pole was a make-shift representation. The history of the Charlestown May-pole ought to be looked up. The story when told would prove that the same narrow feeling that destroyed Morton's May-pole at Merry Mount was opposed to that of Charlestown; which was destroyed by the men paid to guard the

property of citizens from destruction, being egged on by one especially charged with the maintenance of public order, the event being recorded by the Chief Justice without any sign of disapproval.

EARLY RENT RIOTS—New York, July 3, 1766.—The following letter is just received from Claverack, near Albany, dated June 27: "For some months past a mob has frequently assembled and ranged the eastern parts of the manor of Renselaer. Last week they appeared at Mr. Livingston's with some proposals to him, but he being from home, they returned to Mr. Renselaer's son's about two miles from Claverack, where not finding him at home they used some insulting words, and left a message for Mr. Renselaer that if he did not meet them the next day at their rendezvous they would come to him. On the 26th the Sheriff of Albany with 150 men under his command, went to disperse the rioters who were assembled, it is supposed to the number of 60 in a house on the manor. On the Sheriff's advancing to the house they fired upon him, and shot off his hat and wig, but he escaped unhurt. Many shots were exchanged on both sides. Of the militia one man Mr. Cornelius Tenbrook of Claverack was killed and seven wounded. Of the rioters three were killed (two of whom were of the ring-leaders) and many wounded, among them was one of the chief instigators. The rioters retreated to Capt. Noble's house, where they formed a breast-work and did not quit the house till the Sheriff's party left the place. Col. Renselaer's horse was killed under him."—*Lord Chatham's Clippings.* IULUS

ILLICIT TRADE DURING THE REVOLUTION—Philadelphia.—On Thursday last a number of persons, long suspected of carrying on an illicit and dangerous correspondence with the enemy (by way of Shrewsbury) and depreciating our money, were apprehended—On their examination before the President and Vice President, invoices of goods brought from New York, to a great amount, accounts of the sales of gold and silver, rates of depreciation, the routes and stages to the sea shore &c., &c. were found upon them—It appeared also, that by these means, persons were conveyed privately to New York. A new scene of villainy; in carrying lumber to New York from Egg-Harbour and its neighbourhood was also opened—The following persons were committed, viz. Patrick Garvy an assistant apothecary in the Continental service, who owns a part of the boat employed between Squam and New York, Samuel Clark, an inhabitant of New Jersey, living near Princeton, who has long followed this trade; Joshua Bunting, whose house was one of the stages; John Cummins, merchant of this city, and Joseph Griswold partners with Clark; and Joseph Stansbury deeply concerned in the lumber business.—*Pennsylvania Gazette & Weekly Advertiser*, Wednesday, November 29, 1780. No. 2633.

OLD MS. HESSIAN DIARIES—It has been recently stated on the authority of some European correspondent of our newspaper press, that the Journal of *Von Malsburg*, a Hessian officer in our Revolutionary War, has just been discovered in Germany. That this ancient "Tagbuch" is of much historical value, also

asserted, may be true; but that it has now for the *first time* come to light is, however, most certainly a *mistake*, as demonstrable by reference to Von Elking's "German Auxiliaries in North America in the War of Independence" (Hanover, 1863). Captain Von Elking there, under the head of "*Handschriftliche Quellen*," gives quite a catalogue of unpublished Hessian diaries written during that war, one of which is that of "*Hauptman Friederick von dem Malsburg*, beim Regiment vom Dittfurth, vom Februar 1776 bis 16 Nov. 1780."—Von Elking's work, as yet untranslated, and the best known record of our Revolutionary contest from the German standpoint, is written both with ability and apparent impartiality. See a copy in the Library of the N. Y. Historical Society, of which he was a member. W. H.

FRANKLIN ON THE WARPATH—The following letter is in the Franklin Collection made by Mr. Stevens:

Philad^a July 5. 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.— You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends:—You are now my enemy,—and

I am,

Yours,

B. FRANKLIN

"WHEN BATESSON-HOECK PUTS ON ITS CAP WE ARE SURE TO HAVE A STORM," a young lady informs me, is a common

saying among the old residents of this county and vicinity. She states that Bätesson-hoeck is the southerly point of the Catskills, and cap is equivalent to clouds, haze or fog. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the spelling of Bätesson-hoeck. I write it from sound.

A. MUNGO

Hudson, 1882.

QUERIES

A MORTUARY RING—Some workmen engaged in excavating near an old spring at Wood's Run, in the lower part of Alleghany, found a massive gold finger-ring. Around the outer periphery of the ring is inscribed, in bas-relief, "Tho. Scarlett, O. B. 29th Dec., 1729, ÆT. 61." A small topaz setting and the gold retain their original brilliancy. Who was Thomas Scarlett? The ring was found near the old Indian path between Shannopintown and Dogstown, followed by early Indian traders, and by Col. Bouquet on his expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764.

ISAAC CRAIG

Alleghany, Pa.

ST. JOHN LUIS—In Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" (III., 625) we find among "The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of *Nuena Espanna*, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine," the following: "The * isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Alvarez in 41." On the margin is the note: "This is a very commodious Isle for us in our way to Virginia." The third volume of Hakluyt's work was published in 1600, and the accompanying entry is, "The Isle

of Bermuda in 33." Now, was the Isle of John Luis simply Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard, or Gosnold's Cuttyhunk; or was it some island that Hakluyt saw on the map, and which in reality had no existence?

GOMEZ

CANAAN—In the third volume of Sewall's Diary, recently published, we read (p. 396) that on the ship which brought the Sewall family to Boston, in 1634, many were sick, and that one individual, Edward Bosworth, who was near his end, begged to be carried on deck, that he might view the land, or "see Canaan," before he died. The request was granted, when he expired. Now, was New England at that period generally known among the Separatists as "Canaan," and was it with reference to their custom that Thomas Morton humorously styled his book "The New English Canaan"?

GAD

IN the journal kept by Arthur Lee on his journey to treat with the Northwestern Indians, in 1784, he writes: "On the 29th [of November] we traversed a part of the Allegheny, called Laurel Hill, from an abundance of what is called in Virginia ivy, growing upon it. On this mountain St. Jocelin was attacked and killed by the Indians, but his convoy was saved." I would be pleased to learn the particulars and date of this action, and who St. Jocelin was.

C.

THE LAND OF NOD—Sewall in his Diary [III., 197] says that he went to Charlestown, Mass., "to meet the proprietors of the Land of Nod." A part of this land lay in Wilmington, but where was the

tract as a whole situated, what was its extent, the origin of the name, and what were the intentions of the proprietors? NID

THE FIRST AMERICAN WOOD-ENGRAVER—Can any of your correspondents inform me who was the first to practice wood-engraving in this country, and point me to the sources of information concerning him, and where specimens of his work may be found? XYLOG

THE NEWBURGH ENCAMPMENT—Can any one point to any plan of the encampment of the American troops at Newburgh? The plan must exist somewhere. It would be of especial interest at the present time. CAMPUS

REPLIES

GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITY [VIII.]—Mr. Jameson is not quite correct or explicit. On page 327, he says: "Stuyvesant . . . at the beginning of 1654 filled the vacancies in the magistracy by direct appointment." He was, however, not quite so arbitrary, for the Council Minutes of the day say:

"Present at the Meeting of Council the High Councillors de Sille, La Montagne, Fiscal van Tienhoven and the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City:

From the persons nominated by the Council, his Honor the Dir. Genl. selected Allard Anthony¹ as Burgoniaster and Joannes Nevius as Schepen.

Deferred until the time for the new election shall have come.

Resolved to add to the present number of Burgomasters and Schepens of this City of New Amsterdam one Burgomaster and one Schepen. Also, whether it be not advisable for the best of the city to nominate now² some suitable persons, from whose number the Burgomasters and Schepens for the next year could be chosen.

¹ In place of Arent van Hattum, appointed with Martin Kregier, the first Burgomasters, who had been continued for another year.

² Stuyvesant was about to sail for Curaçao.

* * * * *
At Fort Amsterdam, in N. N., Dec. 8, 1654" [N. Y. Col. MSS. Dutch, vol. v., 449].

Upon a petition to that effect [Col. MSS. xii., 3 and 6], the W. I. Company had consented that the office of Schout of the City and of Provincial Fiscal should be separated and not be held by the same person, but the request for permission to elect this officer was refused, because contrary to certain customs of Holland. Mr. Jameson says: "Not until 1660 . . . the City elected its own Schout." It never elected him. The Schout of New Amsterdam, in 1660, was Peter Tonneman, prominent in early Brooklyn history. He petitioned the Director General August 5, 1660, to be appointed Schout, basing his claim upon a recommendation of the Directors of the Company. On the same day Stuyvesant appointed him and swore him in [Col. MSS. ix., 332-4]. Tonneman remained Schout until the order of Governor Nicolls of June 12, 1665, abolished the Dutch form of city government [Gen. Entries, i., 120].

Upon consultation between the municipal officers and principal inhabitants, the right to farm the excise on wine and beer to be consumed in the city was accepted, subject to the condition made by Stuyvesant that the city should contribute its share for repairing the fortifications and supporting the clergy and some other officers of the Company, November 25, 1653 [Col. MSS. v., 146]. No attempt was made by Stuyvesant to deprive the city of this excise, which would have been contrary to the order of the Company, who had not only confirmed [May 18,

1654, Col. MSS. xii., 3 and 6] the excise to the city, but also given permission to its officers to levy a duty on "stamped paper, &c." But the city not having fulfilled its promise of making certain contributions, the Director and Council undertook the letting of the excise in 1654. No abrogation of the city's rights was intended, only the supreme authority had to be maintained. "As the farming of the citizen's excise on beer and wine is done by the Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, subject to approval of the Director and Council, and agreeably to the customs and rules of our Fatherland, therefore these rules made by the supreme Government of our Fatherland must also be obeyed" [Col. MSS. viii., 281].

The "Old Council" existed in New Amsterdam as it did in the old country, only the whole institution of municipal government being new, the membership of the "Old Council" could of course not be large. Besides finding repeated mention of *out* (old) Schepen, not *gewesen* (former) Schepen, this or that, Allard Anthony was confirmed as Out Burgomaster in the Council Meeting of Friday, the 2d of February, 1657 (Col. MSS. viii., 441).

In criticising the stand taken by the Company and its officers toward the City of New Amsterdam, it should not be forgotten that the Island of Manhattan was, so to say, the *private* property of the Company, while the rest of New Netherland belonged to every comer who wished and had the means to buy land. All settlements on Manhattan Island were made on the Company's ground; the settlers were the Company's tenants, and owed it a different allegiance than the inhabitants of

Long Island, Fort Orange, etc. While all other settlements had from the beginning a more or less restricted self-government, it was always the intention of the Company to govern Manhattan Island in about the same way as the District of Columbia is governed to-day. Mr. Jameson has forgotten to state that the office of the Burgomasters, etc., was made an office of record in 1654. B. F.

Albany.

THE FIRST LION IN THE UNITED STATES —The note by "S." on the king of beasts [viii. 435] is interesting, but perhaps he is in error in treating the New York lion as the first in this country, for there must have been one in New England about the year 1542, when an enterprising European bookseller, who knew almost as much about Cabot's "Prima Vista" as about natural history, got up the so-called "Cabot Map," on which may be found a fine lion, whose ample tail, manipulated by the engraver, has switched out of existence several important towns and cities that, according to the old cartographers, belonged on the coast; yet if this example will not suffice as the "first lion," I will supply another, found in Plymouth Woods, January, 1621, by a couple of explorers out, with "a greate Mastiffe bitch and a Spanell." Losing their way, "it drew to night," when "they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the Earth their bed, and the Elements their covering, and another thing did much terrify, they heard as they thought two Lyons, roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they

thought was very nere them, so not knowing what to do, they resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their fastest refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; so they stooode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would have been gone to the Lyon; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes come not: so they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night:" All of which we read in "A Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth New England," and "Printed for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill," 1622. PLYMOUTH

THE FIRST ELEPHANT IN THE UNITED STATES—Apropos of the appearance of the celebrated "Jumbo" in this country, your correspondent "S." [viii. 358] gives some account of the first elephant brought into New York, and observes, in conclusion, that her further history should be written. She came, it seems, in the Spring of 1796, and visited New York a second time in 1806. But as on the latter occasion she was in the city for a short time only, being about to set out on her summer travels, I have presumed she is the same animal that was exhibited in central New York in August and September, 1806, and whose coming is thus heralded in the *Columbian Gazette*, August 26, 1806:

"*A Live Elephant.*"

"The Elephant, not only being the largest, but the most sagacious animal in the world, but the peculiar manner in

which it takes its food and drinks of every kind with its trunk, is acknowledged to be the greatest natural curiosity ever offered to the public. She will draw the cork from a bottle, and with her trunk will manage it in such a manner as to drink it contents, to the astonishment of the spectators; will lie down and rise at command. She is between 6 and 7 years old, and measures upwards of 15 feet from the end of her trunk to that of her tail; 10 feet around the body, and upwards of 6 feet high." ONEIDA

HUDSON'S RIVER [viii., 364]—Apparently the first mention of the river by Hudson's name is to be found in "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England and of sundry accidents therein occurring from 1607 to this present 1622," where it reads: "In his (Capt. Dermer's) passage he met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in *Hudson's River*" (see Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d ser., i., 345). Dermer was there in 1619. The name did not, however, become common property, for Peter Heylin, in his "Cosmographie in 4 books London 1657" knows it only by the name of the "Noordt" River. Gottfried, "Archontologia Cosmica, Fkfort 1638," ignores it altogether in his description, but calls it "Rio de Modonos" on his map. Robert Fage, "Description of the Whole World," London, 1658, ignores it completely, but he calls it Hudson's River in his edition of 1667. The first map on which the river is called "Hudson's" is, I believe, that in the "West Indische Speighel," by Athanasius (Ignatius Inga), of Peru, Amsterdam, 1624.

Sanson, on his map "Le Canada ou la Nouvelle France," 1683, still calls it Rivière de Nort.

B. F.

THE BITTER END—In turning over the files of THE MAGAZINE, I find Mr. Lodge speaking [ii. 645] of Sewall, as one not willing to resist "to the bitter end." It is curious that few writers seem to be aware of the lack of orthography which characterizes this phrase. Corrected, it would read, "to the better end." It is a nautical expression, referring to the practice of letting out the cable during a very severe storm to the unused, or "better" end; a long cable holding more securely than a short one. Upon reflection, most persons must realize that in nine cases out of ten, the phrase "bitter end" fails to convey sound sense.

Jus

COL. BENJAMIN WALKER—In Mr. Fernow's very full and interesting account of Washington's Military Family [vii. 81], he says of the above-named officer that he is able to find only that he was an Englishman who joined the American Army as a Captain in Livingston's regiment of the N. Y. line, was for some time aide to General Steuben, and probably at his solicitation invited into Washington's family. Kapp, in his Life of Steuben, relates assuredly a good deal that is of interest concerning this invaluable aide. A few additional particulars of him may be found in Bagg's Pioneers of Utica.

J.

CAMOENS [viii. 294]—Açor asks for a reference to any publication in the American press relating to the Portuguese

festival of their great poet observed about two years ago, meaning probably any notice of this festival since its observance. If, however, he wishes to see a notice of the *intended* jubilee, he will find one in the Nation, vol. xxx. p. 307, which contains also an announcement of proposed new editions of Camoens' works to be issued both in Portugal and in Brazil. *

THE MAY FLOWER—Excuse me if I say that I would like to have the inquirer about *Epigea repens* know that it has crept so far inland that the fresh air of old Lake Ontario blows over its sweet blossoms, and that in the heart of the "Mohawk's Country" we pluck it in its perfection the first week of May. ADELLE

SALT RIVER—The origin of the phrase "up Salt River" [viii. 297]. In the old Historical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 302, there is a quotation from Bayard Taylor, giving an account of this river, in Kentucky, and of the origin of the political phrase.

ONEIDA

SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the Regular Meeting, June 6th, President De Peyster in the chair, Dr. George H. Moore, Superintendent of the Lenox Library, read a paper on "John Dickinson the author of the Declaration on taking up arms in 1775." Before treating the main topic of the paper, Dr. Moore spoke of the general career of Dickinson, who was awarded a high place as a writer and speaker.

The question of the authorship Dr.

Moore said, was not a complicated one. There was but one adverse claimant, and he only claimed a part of the paper, although that part was the best. "I am ready to defend against all comers," said Dr. Moore, slowly and deliberately, "that the absolute, sole writer of that noble Declaration was John Dickinson. The original draft of that document I now hold in my hand;" and as he spoke Dr. Moore held up the time-worn document. Dickinson's own contemporaries, Dr. Moore continued, ascribed the authorship to him. Two volumes of Dickinson's political writings were published with Dickinson's consent, and the Declaration appeared among the contents. In the work of Chief Justice Marshall, published in 1804, the Chief Justice ascribed the authorship of the first address to the King to Lee. Dickinson wrote a letter in which he corrected the error, and declared that he would not have permitted it to appear in the volumes of his writings if it had not been his own work. In this letter Dickinson avowed that everything published in those volumes was entirely his own composition. Marshall promptly corrected the mistake in his next volume. Here was Dickinson's positive statement that the Declaration was composed by him. No other claimant appeared for it or any part of it during Dickinson's life, and he had been in the grave nearly a quarter of a century before the first and only claimant was heard.

In 1829 the memoirs of Thomas Jefferson were published. Jefferson began writing on Jan. 6, 1821, when he was 77 years old. In his autobiography he said that he took his seat in Congress June

21, 1775. A committee brought in a report which was recommitted on the 26th. Jefferson prepared a draft of a declaration on taking up arms, but it was too strong for Dickinson, who was therefore requested by the committee to put it in a shape to suit himself. He did so, Jefferson said, and prepared an entirely new paper, except the last four paragraphs and one-half of the preceding paragraph. This was reported to Congress and was approved. Dr. Moore then read portions of the answer of the Assembly of Virginia to Lord North's proposition for a reconciliation, which was written by Jefferson, and declared it to be inferior in diction to the Declaration on taking up arms. Neither this answer nor the still more important amplification of the answer which Jefferson wrote a month later stamped him as being the author of the Declaration. On the contrary, a comparison of Jefferson's writings before and after the date of the Declaration was convincing that the composition of the Declaration was not his. Randall, continued Dr. Moore, enlarged on this theme and spoke of Jefferson as not having a particle of pride in his authorship of State papers, giving as an illustration the fact that while the Declaration on taking up arms owed most of its popularity to the last four paragraphs, yet Jefferson never gave a hint that he was the author of these paragraphs until he noted it in a memoir destined not to see the light until he was dead. Parton, it was hardly necessary to say, improved on all these comments. Dr. Moore pointed out in Jefferson's memoirs how the author, referring to the second address to the King, wrote in depreciation of Dickinson's work on that

document, and then he read from the official record of the proceedings of Congress, that on June 3d Dickinson and four others were appointed a committee to prepare the petition. The committee reported on the 19th, and on July 5th the paper was ordered engrossed. On July 8th it was signed by the members. This document was drawn by the same hand which drew up the Declaration on taking up arms, and was under consideration at the same time. Jefferson had written in his memoirs that when Congress adopted the address to the King out of regard for Dickinson, although disgusted with the humility displayed in the document, Dickinson said that the only word he objected to in the address was "Congress." Harrison replied that the only word in the address he *favoured* was "Congress." No one could read that address and believe Jefferson's absurd story. If any one could discover why Jefferson wrote it he would perform a distinguished service to Jefferson's reputation. Mr. Bancroft, Dr. Moore continued, had also been led into the error of accepting Jefferson's statement as to the authorship of the Declaration on taking up arms. Dickinson stated positively that he was the author of the entire paper. Jefferson confirmed this, except as to the last four paragraphs and half the preceding one. The original draft proved beyond question that the author of any part was the author of all. There was no room whatever for doubt. The suggestion of imitation or forgery of the handwriting was excluded. No person ever had anything to do with that draft but John Dickinson. The interlineations, erasures, corrections, and revisions all through all the paragraphs in the

original draft proved conclusively that no paragraphs were copied from any other draft. The proof that the document in Dr. Moore's possession was the original paper was nowhere more conspicuous than in the last four paragraphs. Through the kindness of the late Dr. John Dickinson Logan, of Baltimore, a grandson of John Dickinson, Dr. Moore said he had been able to compare the original draft of the Declaration with the original drafts of the addresses to the King, and other papers in Dickinson's handwriting, and the comparison showed beyond dispute that in all the documents the methods of composition were the same, the work was the same, the writing was the same. Dr. Moore, in conclusion, paid a glowing tribute to Dickinson and the fathers of the country.

LITERARY NOTICES

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VII. Fifth Series. 8vo, pp. 572. Boston, 1882.

This issue contains the third and last volume of the Sewall Diary. The first and second volumes have already been reviewed in *THE MAGAZINE* (II, 641, IV, 469), and the unique character of the famous Chief Justice has been duly recognized. Judge Sewall was a remarkable man. In some respects he had no equal either in the early or later history of Massachusetts. In saying this we do not overlook his faults. Few persons, however, were more conscious of them than himself, while no one was more sincere in the confession of error. This, indeed, is so notable that it stamps him as a superior man.

The present volume of his Diary shows the same characteristics as the previous volumes, his life flowing on in the well-worn channel to the end. There is much to admire and enough to criticize, together with a great deal with which the reader will feel amused. Judge Sewall's character was complex, though not contradictory. Indeed, his consistency is apparent throughout; for, though conscious of the fact that he represented and championed a failing cause, he held persistently

on his way without faltering. This portion of his Diary covers the years 1714-1729, or the last fifteen years of a career extended to nearly four-score. It completes a picture of public and private life in Massachusetts which has no parallel. Year after year Judge Sewall went on patiently making his record, combining minute statements of passing events with the details of his personal experience, evidently writing as much for his own convenience as for the benefit of posterity. He was familiar with every phase of New England life and character, he mingled freely with all classes of citizens, and he knew the personal history of those whom he met from day to day, entering into their feelings, sharing their joys and sorrows. Few deaths or accidents eluded his notice, while he was incessantly engaged in making presents; the objects of his generosity ranging from the governor down to the poor dame who is glad of a couple of "China oranges." Among his gifts were rings with mottoes, silver cups and spoons, tall folios bound in calf and "lettered on the back," volumes of theology, bibles, funeral sermons, Arabic "gold pieces," together with pounds, shillings and sixpences, and pennies for the children, with packages of almonds, raisins and comfits for old ladies having a sweet tooth. Something was always ready in his pocket. He was the special providence of infancy and helpless old age; at the same time bestowing benefactions in a quiet, unobtrusive way, little dreaming that any one would be reading the record in 1882.

He has but comparatively little to say on professional topics, though he records movements in the courts and actions in connection with the government. Sewall lived at a period when the people of Boston had already begun to appreciate some of the mistakes of the founders, and were rapidly departing from their traditions. Of the departure he was sadly conscious, but he did not appreciate the reasons therefor, and stoutly stood his ground, offering the same opposition to the observance of Christmas as to the wearing of an unhealthy periwig. The gracious and hallowed season sung by Shakespeare and Milton had no charm for him. Hence, year after year, when the 25th of December arrives, while he may note the doings of the Episcopalians, he rejoices in the fact that the shops are "open as usual," and that the people come in from the country with loaded teams. Yet, while differing with some of his fellow citizens respecting religion, he is always kind and charitable, and his gentle complaint is seldom tinged with gall. The principal criticisms of his Diary are directed to himself. He could likewise bear the criticism of others in a kindly spirit, even when aimed at a tender spot. For instance, he had served as precentor in meeting for a quarter of a century, holding on so long that the congregation was obliged to hint, in no gentle fashion, that he had survived his usefulness as a musi-

cian. Yet he meekly bore their rebuke and retired when he found that they were right. He says: "This day I set Windsor Tune, and the people at the 2nd going over run into Oxford do what I could." Again he writes: "I set York Tune and the Congregation went out of it into St. David's in the very 2nd going over. They did the same 3 weeks before. This is the 2nd Sign;" meaning that he was failing through age. The people in the gallery were notoriously officious in taking the business out of his hands. He quietly resigned, suggesting that "Mr. Franklin," the father of Benjamin, had better take his office, as he sat in the gallery in "a place very Convenient for it." Whether or not this was intended as a gentle thrust at "the gallery" we cannot say; yet Mr. Franklin did not serve, Mr. White taking the appointment, restoring "York Tune" to its former high place, which, for the time, was perilled by the Judge's cracked and quavering voice.

This Diary abounds with entries of a miscellaneous sort. In one place he records that the constables "Dissipated the players at Nine Pins at Mount Whoredom," as the slope of Beacon Hill was called. Soon after, "Mr. Bridge expires," and "with him much primitive Christianity is gone." In fact it was always going in the estimate of the Judge. January, 1716, "Extraordinary cold," and "Bread was frozen at the Lord's Table." "At six my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my Wife's Chamber," and the next month he tells of a "Sloop run away with by a whale out of a good harbor at the Cape;" the flukes of his whaleship probably being caught by the cable.

In 1716 we find a delectable entry for those students who blink the slavery question: "I essay'd, June 22, to prevent Indians and Negroes being Rated with Horses and Hogs; but could not prevail." In 1714, while drawing up the form for a fast, "Gov^r propounded it might be Religious and Civil Liberties. I said Religious was contained under Civil; arguing that Civil should go first."

In the following clause the liquid lapse of alliteration would suit the easy ear of an ancient Icclander, but the worshipper of Odin and Thor would perhaps have shown more discrimination and taste: "22.7. I eat Salt-Fish at Cous. Sam. Sewalls. 23.1. The L. Super is at the South."

The simplicity of the Chief Justice, however, appears to better advantage where he says: "Help'd my Son in beginning to cut his Stalks; Gather'd about 4. Bushels Apples." Judges in those days were not a "stuck-up" folk, though he stood on his dignity, and noted who took the head of the pew in meeting, and those who in the same place occupied the "Foreseat."

In 1717 his wife died, and "God is teaching me a new Lesson; to live a Widower's Life," and "Lord prepare me for my Change, Call me into

the Ark, and Shut me in." Yet in February, 1718, the venerable septuagenarian says: "This morning wondering in my mind whether to live a Single or a Married Life." The next month there is a little chaffing, for "Mrs. Willoughby seemed to hint persons had need be ware how they married again. I said (to humour it) They that had been at Sea should be careful how they put to Sea again, especially in Wintertime; Meaning of Old Age." Soon, however, the vane turns to the wind, and the Judge relishes the whole subject. Hence, "Deacon Marion comes to me, sits with me a great while in the evening; after a great deal of discourse about his Courtship —He told [me] the Olivers said they wish'd I would Court their Aunt. I said little, but 'twas not five Moneths since I buried my dear Wife."

The reverend and much desired Mr. Mather chimes in with the Deacon, hinting at the number of widows in Boston's Israel, and what is "expected from you." Next, Cousin Moodey "read the history of Rebekah's Courtship, and prayed with me respecting my Widowed condition," while soon "my bowells yern towards Mrs. Denison," who speaks him fair, but declines his advances, not agreeing about the financial settlement; whereupon he turns towards Mrs. Tilly, who humbly "expresses her unworthiness of such a thing with much Respect," and in the end gracefully consents; but, in the spring, the Lord "in his holy Sovereignty put my Wife out of the Fore-Seat." Notwithstanding this "awful stroke," the Judge at once begins to look for a third Mrs. Sewall among those staid and elderly dames still remaining in the "Fore-Seat," applying first to Widow Winthrop, whose kisses, the Judge told her, were "better than the best Canary." But Madam, while speaking "much against John Winthrop, his falseheartedness," and treating her suitor "with a great deal of Curtesy; Wine, marmalade," and so forth, kept him in suspense, the Judge employing the time in reading that pious treatise, "Sibb's Bowells." Refusing to set up a carriage and wear a periwig, Madam Winthrop finally refused him. Madam Ruggles also declined; but Mrs. Gibbs, of Newton, after higgling about the terms of settlement, decided in his favor. In this connection Sewall makes himself appear supremely ridiculous, writing out at full length, and with imperturbable gravity, all these matters so eminently suited to the *Journal pour rire*. The Judge, however, had little appreciation of humor, and lacked perception, not discovering the incongruousness of praying for the harmlessness of the dove while standing in the larder making a late supper of one, served cold with sweetmeats. Hence he became mixed, and "dehorted Sam. Hirst" on the first of April to eschew "Idle Tricks," because "N. E. Men came hither to avoid anniversary days, the keeping of them, such as the 25th of Dec^r," saying in another connection, "It is evident that our

Almighty Saviour Counsell'd the First Planters to remove hither, and Settle here;" which must have been so, as Sewall himself was directly counselled in a similar manner "to live a Widower's life," an admonition that, as in the case of the "First Planters," was "dutifully followed." Still we are not disposed to be critical in dealing with Judge Sewall, however deluded he may have been on some points. He was thoroughly honest and consistent, a man of incorruptible integrity, and one who, upon the whole, is not over appreciated as yet, especially by that class of readers who sneer at what was noblest, best, and of imperishable value in his character, and, in a spleeny mood, try to defend the indefensible.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is fortunate that we have a Society possessing both the taste and the ability to bring out a work like this, involving, as it must, such a large outlay of labor, for which no adequate return can be expected. The Society may well print upon the title page its *sic vos non vobis*.

THE NAVAL WAR OF 1812; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY during the last War with Great Britain. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. 12mo, pp. 498. New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1882.

It is not much to the credit of historical writers that they find comparatively little to interest them in connection with the War of 1812, a field that is really very rich, and one that needs to be worked. The lack of attention to the history of the second war with England has made this kind of literature somewhat scarce. It is true that we have heard much on the subject from time to time, yet its bibliography is easily disposed of. On the English side we have James' "Naval History of Great Britain," and on the American, Cooper's "Naval History of the United States," together with Admiral Emmons' statistical work on the Navy of the United States. We have also "Niles' Register;" while the French instruct us through Gravière's "Guerres Maritimes." Still the materials for a history of naval operations in 1812 are very abundant, and Mr. Roosevelt says: "Much of the material in our Navy Department has never been touched at all. In short, no full, accurate and unprejudiced history of the war has ever been written." Nevertheless our author has made a substantial contribution to such a history; and in this volume before us he has given a clear and succinct account of all the principal naval operations on the lakes and on the ocean, in which operations the American sailors appear to great advantage. The causes which led to this superiority are fully discussed; for while at the period of 1812 Great Britain was supreme upon the sea, no sufficient means were being employed to

maintain that supremacy. Secure in her position, and having overcome all enemies, England little dreamed of any rival, and much less of any rival in the New World. Her guns had subdued the proudest fleets of Europe, and when the American appeared the British sailor went to meet him as the mighty Goliath of Gath went to meet young David. The Yankee frigates were not going to give British commanders the slightest trouble, and hence the latter too often undervalued their enemy, engaging in contest when unprepared. While having at their command a thousand sail, the English were beaten by a people having hardly more than a dozen small craft. With a few exceptions, however, these craft were manned by sailors of a superior spirit and training, and who were more than a match, both in seamanship and gunnery, for their antagonists. One notable exception was found in the loss of the *Chesapeake*, which sailed out of Boston harbor to that fatal conflict with the *Shannon*. The defeat and loss of the *Chesapeake* has generally been attributed to ill fortune. In fact, it has been considered almost a patriotic duty to put the case in this way. Therefore Cooper speaks of "the results of the chances of war," and of "fortuitous events as unconnected with any particular merit on the one side, as they are with any particular demerit on the other." Yet the fact is that the *Chesapeake* went to sea in haste, with an undisciplined and disaffected crew, to meet an officer who had brought his command up to the very highest state of efficiency by long and severe discipline.

Mr. Roosevelt coincides with the judgment of Gravière, who says: "It is impossible to avoid seeing in the capture of the *Chesapeake* a new proof of the enormous power of a good organization when it has received the consecration of a few years of actual service on the sea. On this occasion, in effect, two captains equally renowned, the honor of two navies, were opposed to each other on two ships of the same tonnage and the same number of guns. Never had the chances been better balanced. Sir Philip Broke had commanded the *Shannon* for nearly seven years, while Captain Lawrence had commanded the *Chesapeake* for only a few days. One of these frigates had cruised for eighteen months on the coast of America; the second was leaving port. One had a crew long accustomed to habits of strict obedience; the other was manned by men who had just been engaged in mutiny. The Americans were wrong to accuse fortune on this occasion. Fortune was not fickle, she was merely logical."

It is in this inquiring spirit that the author has composed his book, and the reader will herein find many important errors corrected; such, for instance, as that error of English writers which teaches that much of the American success was due to the British sailors who fought on board our ships. The statistics of this subject have been investigated with care, showing that the most of

the so-called "British sailors" were Americans who had been pressed into the British service, and who had improved the first opportunity of fighting under their own flag.

In summing up the respective losses, Mr. Roosevelt differs essentially from Mr. James. On the ocean the Americans lost 5,984 tons and 278 guns, while the English lost 8,451 tons and 351 guns. On the lakes, by the army and by privateers, the Americans lost 9,718 tons and 431 guns, while the British lost 13,512 tons and 605 guns.

Of the single-ship commanders produced on both sides, Mr. Roosevelt considers Commodore Hull the greatest, being the man above all others who kept the American flag flying on the high seas for nearly three years in the face of the mightiest naval power in the world. Mr. Roosevelt has produced an exceedingly interesting and valuable volume, which deserves wide recognition.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, Soldier—Citizen—Statesman. By BEN: PERLEY POORE. With an Introduction by Henry B. Anthony. Illustrated with Maps and Engravings. 8vo, pp. 448. Providence, R. I.: J. A. & R. A. REID, 1882.

The subject of this memoir was born in a log cabin, near Liberty, Union County, Indiana, in 1824. His parents, who were Scotch-Irish, gave him a plain schooling, after which he entered upon a trade. This he soon left, having secured an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he pursued a careless career, graduating in the class of 1847. He immediately entered upon duty with the army in Mexico. In 1852, while in garrison at Newport, he married Miss Bishop, who exerted a salutary influence upon his life and kept him from many of those excesses to which his hot youth inclined. The same year he resigned and went into the manufacture of rifles, in which he had made improvements, but failed in his operations and went West. Upon the outbreak of the Rebellion, he led a Rhode Island regiment to Washington and commanded a brigade at Bull Run. From that period to the present day his history has been a matter of public record; at one time commanding the Army of the Potomac, afterward being distinguished as the Governor of Rhode Island and United States Senator from the same State. His failures and his successes are about equally well known. Circumstances were sometimes against him, yet it appears to be the general opinion that he did not possess the peculiar ability required on the part of the head of such an army as that which he endeavored to handle in Virginia, the command of which was fairly thrust upon him by the President, who hoped that, in the peculiar emergency,

General Burnside would display the requisite qualities in an eminent degree. Though at times unsuccessful, he did not lose his popularity, and the people of Rhode Island clung to him amid both good and evil report. Upon the whole, he justified their general expectations, and proved himself worthy of their confidence and regard. His biographer has done his work in a creditable manner, and, while bestowing warm praise where praise is due, does not hesitate to point out Burnside's faults, which, in early life, were those of a dashing, irrepressible young soldier, generous and improvident, and showing in games of chance that reckless spirit which left him without a dollar in his pocket when on the way down the Mississippi to join the army in Mexico, and which, possibly, was the same spirit that impelled him to decide upon the second assault of Petersburg, an act that he could hardly be persuaded from by the united voice of his general officers.

The publishers have brought out the work in a handsome style, giving a steel portrait of the General, with wood engravings of his father and his wife, and numerous other illustrations that add much to the interest of the volume, which will have a wide circulation.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOLDIERS' MEDALS ISSUED BY THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA AS TOKENS OF RESPECT TO THOSE OF HER CITIZENS WHO SERVED IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM 1861 to 1865.
By the Rev. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN. With a Plate. pp. 17. Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1881.

The essay embraced in this pamphlet was originally read before the Historical Society of West Virginia, and subsequently at a meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. Its author is a member of several historical societies, and, as we learn from the graceful dedication of the work, served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Opening with a brief history of medals of honor issued by the United States to private soldiers, the author proceeds to give a detailed account of the West Virginia medals, and of the part this State took in the Civil War. The medals were provided by act of the Legislature in 1866, and were of four classes: for officers and soldiers honorably discharged; for officers and soldiers killed in battle; for officers and soldiers who died from wounds received in battle; for officers and soldiers who died from diseases contracted in the service. The total number of medals struck was 26,099, all being in bronze with the exception of three or four only, struck in silver. A minute description of the medals is given in the pamphlet, and a heliotype plate representing a set (four in number) forms the frontispiece. The medals have

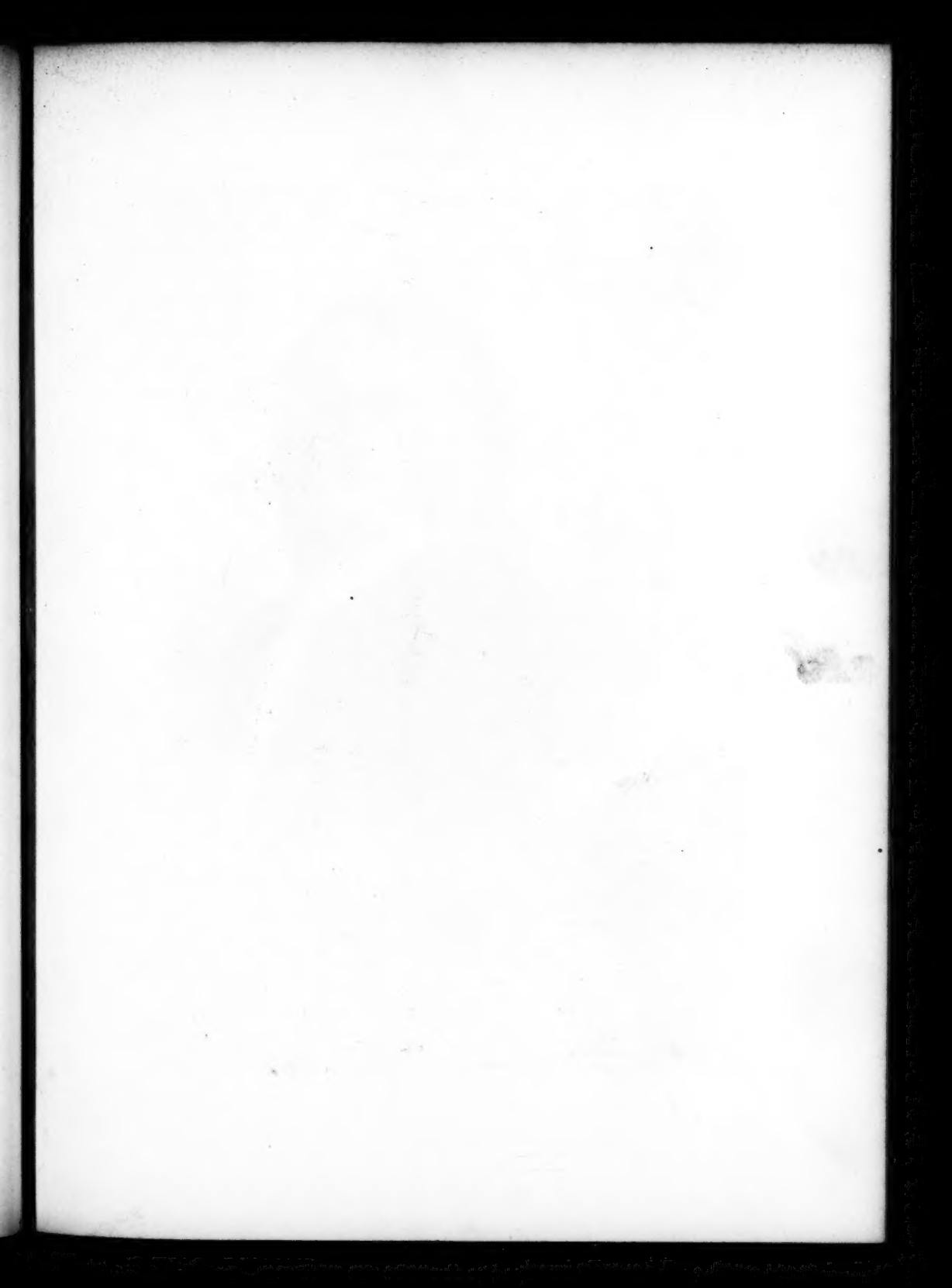
been much sought by numismatists for cabinets, and some have been sold as high as \$12. The total cost of the medals to the State was over \$26,000, and at present over 3,000 are yet in possession of the State, the others having been distributed.

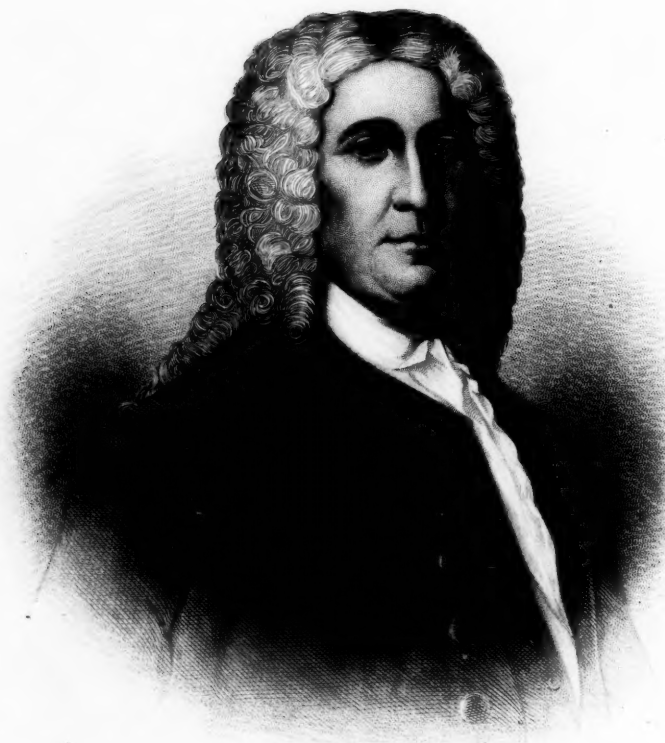
GARFIELD'S PLACE IN HISTORY. AN ESSAY. By HENRY C. PEDDER. Portrait. Post 8vo, pp. 104. New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1882.

Memorial volumes of distinguished characters, or those eminent for learning, piety, or philanthropy, where they embody historic and biographical facts and important personal details, can hardly be commended too strongly. It is very frequently the case that such memorials preserve many important facts of history, local or general, and serve to perpetuate worthy personal traits of character—in many cases where a more elaborate memoir or biography would hardly be attempted. Such volumes are always a worthy contribution to literature. Mr. Pedder's essay, while in one sense a memorial volume, and to be prized by collectors, deals little with events of history and gives no personal details or dates. It is an attempt to analyze the character of the great statesman who was so recently at the head of the Republic—for great he was in many respects—and define his place in history. The task was not an easy one, and the treatment of his subject, while heroic at some points, is not in general, we think, completely satisfactory, as where comparisons are instituted with the great dead whose places in history are forever secure. It is too early even to attempt an assignment of Garfield's place in history. We stand too near him, and personal and party prejudices may carry one's judgment at too great a length in condemning or justifying. As a piece of eulogistic writing, Mr. Pedder's essay is certainly effective; as an acute and critical analysis of character, and as delineating the place in history its illustrious subject is to hold, it hardly justifies the ambitious title.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONFEDERATE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION, in Augusta, Ga., at its Fourth Annual Meeting on Memorial Day, April 26, 1882, by Col. CHARLES C. JONES, Jr., President of the Association. 12mo, pp. 7. Augusta, Ga., 1882.

LIST OF PORTRAITS AND VIGNETTES IN THE ENGRAVED STOCK OF THE BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING. 8vo, pp. 8. TREASURY DEPARTMENT.





PETER FAIRBANKS.

From the original picture by Smibert in possession
of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Engr'd by H. B. Hall & Sons. for Matthews of American History.

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OLD PELHAM AND NEW ROCHELLE

IT was my fortune to revisit, recently, after a long interval of absence, two homes of my childhood, the birth home at Pelham, Westchester County, in the vicinity of New York, and the church home at New Rochelle, the town adjoining, originally a part of Pelham, comprised within the area of the Manor by the royal charter of 1666, in the reign of Charles II. That charter was granted to Thomas Pell, Esq., "gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Charles I.," and afterward, in 1687, was granted anew, and confirmed to his legally recognized heir, the only son of his brother, the first resident proprietor, "Lord John Pell," according to the usage of address hereabouts in the seventeenth century.

The first object of interest that won attention within view from the railway station, two or three minutes' walk westward along the old historic "King's highway," was the beautiful church edifice of stone, designated "Trinity Church, of New Rochelle," presenting itself to the eye of the inquiring visitor as the successor of the old "French church," that hallowed that surrounding in the reign of Queen Anne. Having noticed, in a musing mood, the contrast between the showing of the rude, small, stony structure that I had first known in childhood as a house of worship and that of the finely proportioned modern temple, whose graceful spire now casts its shadow over the old site, I turned my steps toward the church burial ground, seeking the graves of my grandparents. Long-slumbering memories were aroused, first of all, by the sight of the marble that marked the grave of my grandmother—Sarah Pell, widow of Captain William Bayley—whose funeral service, ministered in the churchyard by her aged relative, the rector, Rev. Theodosius Bartow, I had attended with a large family gathering in the month of March, 1819, being then eleven years of age. The form of the venerable clergyman in his official robes at the grave, his bald head uncovered, despite the chill of a heavy snow-fall, is vividly remembered now as if it had figured in a scene of yesterday.